RADICALS SOBER UP **EDWARD GREER**

THE
NATION

JANUARY 17, 1972 *50 cents*

Mr. Nixon's Other Greek
NASSIKAS SETS YOUR GAS BILL
Robert Sherrill

Advertising's Image: PUFFERY OR EFFRONTERY? Thomas De Baggio

Presidential Sovereignty: WHAT'S PERMANENT IN FOREIGN AID Asher Brynes

Alan Cheuse on V. S. Naipaul

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LETTERS

swallowing a hawk

Bath, N.Y.

DEAR SIRS: The attack on Senator Jackson ["Phobias and Nightmares: The Candidacy of Senator Jackson," by Joel Connelly, *The Nation,* Nov. 15, 1971] is deplorable. Though Jackson may be a "hawk," he is not a warmonger as his vote for the Cooper-Church amendment attests. The defeat of the NAM troika, not the Indochina war, is our great problem, and this can happen only if the lower-middle-class working people can be weaned back from Governor Wallace. Right now it does seem that Jackson can do it best. The Administration has already taken long steps in the direction of a crypto-Fascist state. This is no time to worry about bussing, or even to gamble the fate of the nation on a liberal, Catholic candidate.

It has been six long months since *The Nation* has inexplicably failed to comment on the deadly Middle East situation. No agreement forced upon Israel by oil company appeasers can guarantee peace as long as the Soviets occupy assault positions in Egypt. Senator Jackson seems to be the only candidate with the hard sense to comprehend the potential consequences of another "Czechoslovak"-type sellout in the Middle East. Middle East stability will last only as long as Israel has defensible borders, and while we insist that the Russians must get out of it militarily. Jackson seems to understand that more clearly than Joel Connelly, a vital point he carefully omitted. *S. Drucker*

justice pursued

Cleveland, Ohio

DEAR SIRS: I would like to congratulate you on your insightful editorial entitled "Justice Mocked" [*The Nation,* Nov. 29, 1971]. The legal battle has been arduous and difficult, and it is most encouraging to read your forthright position complimenting the Cuyahoga County Court of Appeals on their decision to overthrow the ancient doctrine of sovereign immunity in Ohio, thereby permitting suit.

I also compliment you on your condemnation of the United States Justice Department in failing to call a federal grand jury to investigate the possibility of criminal conduct on the part of National Guardsmen on May 4, 1970.

It is only through the continued focus of attention on the injustices which permeate this terrible incident that ultimately justice may be attained.

Steven A. Sindell

origins

New York City

DEAR SIRS: As a footnote to Bruce Jackson's "Prison: The New Academy" [*The Nation,* Dec. 6, 1971] your readers might be interested in rehearing the derivation of the name of Attica prison.

It originates in the pre-Hellenic name Athena, a goddess also known as "The Protectress." . . . "Athena" became in Latin and in English, Attica or the "Land of Athene." The Latin *atticus* and the English Attic connoted a refined elegance and purity of taste and style (as in Attic salt, which is bitter but delicate wit). Attic also meant incisive intelligence, and Attic faith is *inviolable* faith.

There is also Attic architecture and the attic meant a garret. When I was a child, "the attic" was where we threw old furniture and other useless things no longer of any value. And once in a while we cleaned out the attic and threw "those things" into a dump and burned them.

So it seems we have come a long way from the Athenaeum or Attica of old to the Attica prisons of today, which are used as attics where we throw "useless" human beings.

Mr. Jackson himself showed a bit of Attic salt in calling prisons "The New Academy." But it is the prisoners themselves who are doing something about it. "The system" certainly is doing nothing to help them. *James P. Ryan*

EDITORIALS

Calculated Deception

Because its feverish efforts to conceal as much as possible of what has been happening in Laos, Cambodia and North Vietnam have failed to keep some news from filtering back to the American electorate, and because its transparent double talk about the reasons for five days of heavy bombings in the North aroused more doubt than conviction, the Administration felt the need to come on loud and bold. When in trouble, stage a quick diversion. So in his interview with Dan Rather on CBS (radio and television), the President said, with a straight face, that only *one* consideration kept him from agreeing to a total withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from all of Indochina—the continued refusal of those "international outlaws," the North Vietnamese, to release American prisoners of war. Mr. Rather asked the President if we had ever asked the North Vietnamese if they would release the prisoners and assure the safe departure of U.S. forces, once a specific date for their withdrawal had been set. The President replied that the North Vietnamese had "totally rejected" such a proposal, but the next day, "Administration sources" conceded that the United States had never proposed a firm date for withdrawal in exchange for an agreement of the type indicated. All that our spokesmen in Paris had done was to seek "clarification," quite a different matter. This "explanation" of what the President had said received a fraction of the attention given to his sweeping assurances on television.

The fact is that the Administration never considered a withdrawal date in 1971 because it felt that the military buildup of South Vietnamese forces was not complete. Stated somewhat more realistically, the Administration's unwillingness to consider a 1971 withdrawal date was based on the fear that, if left on their own for a full year before the November 1972 election, the South Vietnamese might not be able to "hack it" and a major defeat or collapse of the regime a few months before the election could be acutely embarrassing. On January 5, in a televised interview with Howard K. Smith and Ted Koppel on ABC, Secretary of State Rogers stated with commendable—if novel—frankness that it was still American policy to keep a residual force in South Vietnam until the ARVN is ready to stand on its own feet. "Eventually" we would be willing to withdraw all troops, if the POWs were released, but we still insist that the South Vietnamese must be able to determine their own future. After all, he said, we have lost 55,000 American lives and suffered 250,000 wounded, and it would therefore be "folly" to move out before the South Vietnamese were able to defend themselves. And "of course" we will consult the Saigon regime as to when it feels able to carry on without the active aid of U.S. forces.

So what it comes down to is that the President, despite his sweeping statements in the interview, continues to believe that he can force the North Vietnamese to negotiate on his terms. To this end he is using the POW issue as an excuse for keeping a large residual force in South Vietnam and he is using the alleged need to protect these troops to justify continued heavy raids, at intervals, in the

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North. But it will be difficult to time future raids as cunningly as the Christmas raids were timed—while Congress was out of session and the campuses were empty of students.

In this latest ploy the President was trying once again to buy more time, in the hope that the North Vietnamese can yet be forced to accept his terms by a date close enough to the first Tuesday in November to minimize the risk of a premature collapse of the Thieu regime. Meanwhile, he continues his efforts to hoodwink the public into believing that he is actually ending the war. American casualties are down (Vietnamese casualties don't count). Combat troops are being withdrawn. The Ho Chi Minh Trail has been wired against infiltrators and there is much talk of an automated war. At the same time, the North Vietnamese continue to be charged with "violations" of an agreement the conditions of which are known only to the President. In this way the psychological-political groundwork has been laid, so to speak, to justify further and heavier bombings. Yet despite the fact that this calculated deception appears to have quieted domestic opinion, the President remains in deep trouble. The obstacle he cannot surmount is that the North Vietnamese, and their allies in South Vietnam, are at least as determined as he is. Mr. Nixon will try to pull the rug from under them when he goes to Peking, but he is not likely to succeed, even though the Chinese seemed to be not greatly disturbed by the Christmas raids. The Chinese can of course influence the North Vietnamese, but the bulk of military and other assistance comes from the Soviet Union, and there is a limit beyond which the Chinese would not want to pressure Hanoi for fear of increasing Soviet influence. There is also a point beyond which the North Vietnamese are not likely to be influenced by the Chinese or the Russians or both.

As an antidote to continuing Presidential obfuscation, the facts about the most recent air raids should be investigated as fully as possible. Rep. Lester Wolff (D., N.Y.) has announced that he will ask the Subcommittee on Asia and Pacific Affairs, on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, to conduct such an investigation when Congress reconvenes on January 18. Investigations of this sort cannot expect any help from the Administration, but they can throw much needed light on facts which the Administration is doing its best to conceal. Hearings can also reveal the double-dealing and deception on which the President is relying to keep himself afloat politically as campaign '72 gets under way.

The Amnesty Problem

Amnesty is an idea whose time has come. Not that it is a simple idea, or without shades of implication. The fact that the individuals affected fall into different categories—conscientious objectors, deserters, young men who simply failed to register, et al.—is one source of complexity. Then too it is said that the proposal is premature, in the sense that the war drags on and it is unfair to consider amnesty for some men while we are still drafting others.

There are obvious answers to both sets of objections, but they all boil down to one outstanding fact: this war is *different*. We are approaching a consensus that it was

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a mistake from the beginning, that we should never have gotten into it, that "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind" requires that we repent and get out as soon as logistics will permit.

That this war is unlike any other in which we have engaged is shown by one statistic: the U.S. desertion rate in Indochina far exceeds that of our earlier wars and is nearly double that of World War II— 72.9 per 1,000 for the latter, 142.2 per 1,000 in the present conflict. Of course desertion has many causes and may not always involve revulsion against a vicious national policy, but a 14 per cent desertion rate surely indicates that American intervention in Vietnam has had a low patriotic appeal.

But if the policy was and is wrong, those who opposed it, either by open refusal to serve or by leaving the country, should not be punished. If there is to be redemption, they will have helped to redeem us. That is the flaw in Rep. Edward I. Koch's compromise proposal for alternative service. It comes too late. A draft resister now living in Canada wrote to Koch that "many of us would have been quick, willing and anxious to accept such a proposal five years ago. . . . Many of us are exiles today precisely because such an alternative was denied to us in the past. We left the States because we did not want to become criminals of the heart and now feel that a government which has the stain of Indochina on its conscience has no business passing judgment on our 'crimes' and meting out punishment. . . ."

The problems inherent in the amnesty proposals can be worked out equitably if the public is let in on what is at stake, and this can be done only by open Congressional hearings. The roadblock is Senator Eastland, chairman of the Judiciary Committee. If he can, he will resort to total opposition, in line with the President, who sees another chance to placate his right-wing critics. However, Eastland may be forced to submit the measure sponsored by Representative Koch and Sen. Robert A. Taft, Jr. to one of several subcommittees; if so, he is likely to choose the least amenable. He may not have it all his own way; the Taft name carries weight in the Senate. There is also the possibility of adding amnesty measures by amendment or rider to bills dealing with other matters.

A few commentators have expressed surprise that Senator Taft is in favor of amnesty in principle, and is sponsoring legislation to that end. *The Nation* finds Mr. Taft's action quite in keeping with the family tradition. The Tafts have always been conservatives, but conservatives with a conscience and good sense in the face of changing conditions. They have not been militarists and have never been ashamed to exhibit humanitarian concerns. They have shown consistent respect for the Constitution and for civil liberties. They differ, in this respect, from the *ersatz* conservatives who are trying to take over the Republican Party, and who will surely oppose amnesty with the usual cry of "bleeding hearts." But that is a difficult label to pin on a Taft.

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The Long Shot

Mayor Lindsay is indeed a long shot; among all the Democrats, he may as of now be the longest. The reasons are cumulative: Lindsay is a recent convert to the party; he has had only indifferent success in solving the problems of New York City (not that there is any indication that anyone else could have done better); since his switch he has been subjected to abuse simply because he did switch. He is a late entry with no real base of support —a political loner. His best friends cannot be optimistic about his chances.

Nevertheless we are glad he is in the race, for several reasons. First, and worst, the two-party system has an abominable tendency toward "centrism." With few exceptions, the candidates are forced to eviscerate one another for the center position, where, political folklore assures us, the majority of votes are to be found. As we have often said in the past, when stability was the prime factor, this herding toward the center was a good thing—it tended to eliminate irrational extremes and to keep the political process from exploding into violence. Recent events in various parts of the world show how long it takes a system of political stability to emerge, even to the point where one party will permit another to take office. But when new issues are pressing, when various constituencies feel totally excluded from the political contest, when the imperative need is for change and new institutions, then counter-pressures are required in *each* party to force recognition of measures that would deal with these new contingencies.

Second, Senator Muskie is currently the "front-runner." He is a candidate one can respect; but as the leading contender he must play it coony, as long as he can. Moreover, with Humphrey and Jackson in the race, he will perhaps feel the greater need to soothe the right of Center. In this configuration, it would be political suicide for the left of Center to capitulate, as some have suggested it should. McCarthy, McGovern, Kennedy and, not least, Lindsay, are urgently needed to keep the pressure on, to keep Muskie from succumbing to the chatter of the Scammons and Wattenbergs (those secret Republicans in Democratic garb), with their nonsense about the fearsome wife of the blue-collar worker in Dayton, Ohio. Conjuring up such bogies did not turn out to be good political advice in 1970 and would prove disastrous in 1972.

Third, we are told that Muskie has the lowest "hostility factor" of any of the Democrats aspiring to the Presidency, and hence is the best candidate. Is this really an important consideration? Didn't many people hate—and *hate* is the word—Franklin D. Roosevelt? In retrospect, we can thank God that Mr. Roosevelt had a high hostility rating, even in his own party.

More important than the "hostility factor" is the "excitement factor." Far more than the Republicans, the Democrats need excitement this time around. Say what you like about Lindsay, he does generate interest. Many con-

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stituencies—minorities, the poor, suburbanites, women, liberal Republicans, young activists, eggheads—find him attractive. He can draw votes that the Democrats badly need. So, all in all, as Ted Lewis writes in his always perceptive political column in the New York *Daily News,* it is "good for American political processes to have Lindsay add a few new dimensions to the 1972 campaign. The people benefit. The more choices there are, the more people find themselves involved. Whether Lindsay is capable of stirring up voters on a mass basis remains to be seen, but at least there is now a chance that apathy will give way to involvement."

Tipping Congressmen

Union Carbide Corporation's standing in the industrial community requires no emphasis. Of recent months, the company has presided over a series of breakfasts in Washington, D. C., at which selected executives have had a chance to meet with selected government officials and members of Congress to discuss problems of mutual interest. The meetings have been informal and private.

Such meetings are not unusual, but a member of Congress who attended one of these sessions recently tells us that he was surprised the next day to receive a check from the company for $250. Since he did not feel that it would be proper to accept the check, but at the same time feared that he might seem discourteous if he returned it, he turned it over to a charity. Obviously a stipend of this amount was not intended to buy influence; it was more in the nature of a tip—compensation for any loss of time and the possible inconvenience of the early hour. No doubt it was also intended to implant a warm feeling for the host company, so that its future requests for information and assistance might win more than perfunctory attention.

While members of Congress all too frequently accept conspicuously generous fees for speaking engagements—Sen. Margaret Chase Smith has had some tart things to say about this form of "moonlighting"—we had not known that it was now customary to offer them tips with the eggs and bacon. If it is improper for business interests to offer gratuities to policemen or to pick up their luncheon and dinner tabs, should a different code prevail between corporation executives and elected representatives of the people? If it is wrong to tip a cop, is it proper to tip a Congressman?

The Fourth Network

Now that "the fourth network," called into being by enactment of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, is a functioning reality, with 214 local stations, it is time to ask a few questions about it. Does the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, for example, offer the kind of *public* broadcasting that the Carnegie Commission projected in its report of January 1967? A recent 52-page report from The Network Project on "The Fourth Network" presents a detailed review of the last twenty years in educational-noncommercial-public broadcasting and contains a wealth of data that raises the basic issues. The Network Project is an unincorporated group of several young people—including Greg Knox, Henry Smith and Richard Wolf, among others—that for a year or more has been digging into the conditions of broadcasting. In a series called *Feedback,* members of the project have aired radio programs over WBAI (New York) on such subjects as television as a medium, television as an industry, and the latest on public broadcasting (copies of "The Fourth Network" may be obtained from The Network Project, 102 Earl Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 10027). Five more programs are scheduled by WBAI for the next few months, and all of this research will be published as a book later in the year.

The fourth network has, of course, presented some excellent programs, but does it constitute *public* broadcasting in the sense of offering a real alternative to the commercial networks? The Network Project study points out that the new network has patterned its form on that of the commercial networks, with which it apparently wants to compete for the large mass audience. Control is centralized; programming freedom exists almost wholly in theory; the emphasis is on entertainment; no broad spectrum of views is offered; the news and opinion programs are, if anything, somewhat to the right of those presented on NBC, ABC and CBS. For "balance," William Buckley's *Firing Line* program has been added. While *Firing Line* is often interesting, it has weighted news and opinion even further to the right; it certainly has not broadened the spectrum of opinion. The fourth network is governmental in structure but substantially—if indirectly—controlled by the Ford Foundation, which manages to disguise its power in a variety of discreet ways. Av Westin, former director of Public Broadcasting Laboratory, and currently producer of ABC's nightly network news program, maintains that "underwriters" for public-TV programs can and do exert more pressures on content than do sponsors on commercial networks. The board of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, which was supposed to represent a broad cross section of public interests and constituencies, is made up for the most part of former government officials and executives of private firms and foundations. After reviewing the record, The Network Project concludes, and with justification, that "public television does not and, as presently constituted, cannot answer the communication needs of the country." Even before the present structure was established in 1967, there was strong evidence that educational television, as it was then called, was much too tightly controlled to offer a genuine alternative to the commercial networks (see "Educational TV: The Timid Crusaders" by Richard M. Elman, *The Nation,* March 1, 1965).

The Network Project study is most timely. New legislation proposed by Rep. Torbert Macdonald (D., Mass.) offers some hope of providing permanent long-range funding, but this legislation will be of little avail if it does not deal with the basic question of control. With meager staff and resources, The Network Project has illuminated the controlling importance of that issue, even though it proposed no alternative setup. Its next step should be to present its own model or models of how the fourth network should be restructured in order to convert it into a live and relevant alternative to the commercial networks. That, from the outset, has been its stated objective.

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PRESIDENTIAL SOVEREIGNTY

What's Permanent in Foreign Aid

ASHER BRYNES
Mr. Brynes has been a senior staff member of the Senate Foreign Policy Committee and has served also in the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture. He is the author of We Give to Conquer (*W. W. Norton*).

In the fall of 1944, when World War II was in its final phase in Europe, the question of what to do with a defeated Germany was much discussed by President Roosevelt with his Secretaries of State, Treasury and War. They disagreed, and the controversy was carried to the Quebec Conference (September 1944), where Churchill and Eden came to deal with that problem and other postwar matters. Here Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, who had already secured Roosevelt's agreement to his scheme for deindustrializing Germany, overcame Churchill's violent opposition to the proposal. (Churchill had said that such a planned impoverishment of a European nation would amount to "chaining him to a dead German.")

What caused the Prime Minister to turn so completely around? The only other nonmilitary agreement the United States made with Churchill at Quebec was the continuation of lend-lease, the wartime precursor of foreign aid, to Britain in the postwar period. The figures are interesting: Britain was to get from the United States $3.5 billion of military supplies and $3 billion of peacetime merchandise and services until the fall of Japan. That is almost exactly the ratio of military assistance to economic aid in recent AID legislation, and in the House-Senate versions of the foreign aid bill just defeated.

After Roosevelt had returned to Washington, the plan to impoverish Germany was leaked to the press. There was much outcry. Secretary of War Stimson had always strongly opposed it and he got other Washington notables to join him. These influences turned Roosevelt around, and in England Churchill reversed himself a second time. In the event, Germany was *re*industrialized by the Americans on a lavish scale. It had to be lavish in order to function as economic assistance because—as I remember an engineer on one of the first Marshall Plan survey teams saying—"When we inventoried the reports on machine tools there was not one in working order, no sir, not one in the whole zone." Doubtless there is some exaggeration in that, but it cannot be much: the amount of U.S. foreign aid ultimately given to our *fraction* of Germany was more than $5 billion, worth twice that much in current dollars.

From this beginning in lend-lease, foreign aid has been divisible, functionally, into a pair of components. These are: *power* money or other financial consideration, and *relief* money, which covers payment of ocean freight and other transport as well as medical services, and credits for the purchase of an entire range of ordinary civilian merchandise from foodstuffs to any staples, including industrial machinery, trucks, tractors and sundries.

When we give military assistance, together with supporting or budgetary aid, to the South Vietnamese or Turkish or Greek or South Korean Governments we intend that it be used to defend them against attack from the outside. When we give those governments and others *relief*—and our current foreign aid relief clients have stabilized at about a third of the nations in the U.N.—we intend to stabilize them against internal disaffection. They may be good or middling or downright bad governments, in the view of many Americans, but in giving them assistance our State Department has made a determination: that any alternative, i.e., any rebel regime, is worse from the viewpoint of our national interest.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that foreign aid of whatever kind is government-to-government aid. Of course, it ultimately reaches people, but the nature of the world today is such that it can reach them only through an intermediary, their own government, which must be allowed to skim some of the cream off the milk. In plain English, it must be allowed to take the immediate credit for what we supply.

As the transitional management of U.S. lend-lease had shown right from the start, the basic use of nation-to-nation aid is to exert forceful persuasion on governments with which we are already on friendly terms, perhaps even in alliance. Whatever the relationship, we have more ready money, more industrial resources, more service facilities than they. Where there is serious need on the one side, and a capacity to satisfy it on the other, it would be surprising if an element of cash reinforcement of the diplomacy was not brought to bear at some sticky point in the negotiation.

Stalin's stubbornness in his postwar dealings with the American Government finally pushed the latter into offering him and his satellite nations foreign aid on the same terms extended to nations of Western Europe. He spotted this as a bid for power, and summarily refused the offer. Almost at once the formal unity under which all had fought against Nazi Germany collapsed. Then began the long process of making a permanent institution of U.S. foreign aid. Although it developed in many wonderfully complicated ways in the next twenty-five years, the foundations then laid down in the Truman years, when a global war had just ended, still underpin it all.

Perhaps the most direct way to get to the core of that substructure is to examine the first letterhead of the new facility: Economic Cooperation Administration. Every word of it was seriously meant. Translating the federalese, *Administration* meant that it was an independent agency set up to perform a specific task which was to be terminated on the completion of its mission. The many successive titles invented for the agency (there have been seven in all) conform to this tradition of *im*permanence. In the early days many of the regular employees endlessly discussed jobs in other federal offices. They still do. *Cooperation* meant that there would be a joint supervision of the expenditure of the foreign aid with the host or recipient

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countries (the United States with the United Kingdom or France or Belgium or whatever). *Economic,* in addition to describing the nature of the aid, implied that the host nation and the donor nation would deal with each other as equals, particularly after the aid had been given. This was reasonable because more than 90 per cent of the $4 billion transferred yearly to European countries in the initial aid program was in the form of grants. No repayment was expected, except in good will.

In little more than half the time allotted to the Marshall Plan—in the first two and a half of four years—the program reached, and in some instances even overreached, its economic objectives. By 1950, West European industrial production was equal to or better than prewar. In the remaining eighteen months of the initial program, U.S foreign aid disbursements were spent increasingly, by the recipient countries, for noneconomic products of their own manufacture, that is, for armaments and military machinery, large and small. American economic aid officials did not like this turn, feeling that the procedure Pentagonized their operation, but they could not complain aloud; it was all done properly. Indeed, the newly refurbished arms factories of the aided nations had been rebuilt, retooled and resupplied with raw materials paid for by U.S. economic assistance.

The persistence and destructiveness of the Korean conflict, which began in 1950, forced the Eisenhower administration to drop its plans for phasing out foreign aid altogether. When the Korean peace arrived, a new cycle of massive relief, reconstruction, economic development and mutual security operations opened in the underdeveloped nations of Southeast Asia.

Vice President Nixon and Nelson Rockefeller (whose foreign affairs adviser was then Henry Kissinger) and a now forgotten Republican politician, Harold Stassen, managed the conversion of Eisenhower's attitude on foreign aid. They did it so thoroughly that he threatened to call a special session of Congress to force the passage of his aid bill—which an ornery Congress then chopped down by 28.5 per cent before the final vote. By this time it had been observed that, to the Congress, foreign aid was really foreign *crisis* aid. The U.S. program could survive, somewhat reduced but still functionally intact, through approximately two successive years of comparative quiet. It had just enough legislative momentum to hold the Congressional cutbacks for that length of time to between 8 and 15 per cent.

So the careful inflation of foreign aid budgets before their presentation to the legislature became a standard defensive device. Moderate reductions of foreign aid appropriations—the actual money voted by Congress as contrasted with the previous authorizations—were greeted by aid officials with relief. But after three years without a serious foreign crisis Congress pared foreign aid to the point where (as today) aid officials doubted that the programs would be continued in the same form in the future.

Put yourself in their place: what most State Department people do is operate a worldwide news and local opinion reporting service. Their daily output would probably fill *The New York Times* or *The Washington Post* from first to last page, pushing out the ads. In the

Behrendt, Het Parool (Amsterdam)

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home offices in Washington, studies are prepared by pouring this daily flow of data over reference materials on special subjects. The department's information on what's going on in the rest of the world is simply overwhelming; no one man can catalog it, much less read it. And what is such a department to do without foreign aid, without a physical response to all those words?

Still, neither the "foreign-aid bureaucracy" (as the *National Review* believes), nor the entire State Department, nor the U.S. companies that profit from aid-financed business and aid-insured loans and other projects in undeveloped countries (almost all U.S. foreign assistance funds are actually spent here by means of an accounting device known as tied credits) have enough political power to maintain the program in the teeth of unremitting Congressional opposition. The staunch friend of the aid program is invariably the President himself. All Presidents since it was first invented, with the exception of Eisenhower for a brief period after the Korean War, have fought right down the line for bigger foreign aid appropriations. We have a bigger State Department and this functional agency coupled to it because the conduct of foreign affairs is the most glamorous activity available to the occupant of the White House. When the President does business with a fellow citizen of whatever standing in academic, economic or cultural circles in this country there is literally a trade-off between a sovereign—he is one although he doesn't wear a crown—and a private person, in which it is normal that the President gets more than he gives; otherwise he would demean the office.

But when he deals with an emissary of a foreign country he is expected to give more than he can possibly get; he is the top man of the wealthiest country on earth. How else in an economics-minded world can his dealings with *unequals* be consummated gracefully? Think of the comic-opera uniforms in which Mr. Nixon dressed the White House police shortly after he took up residence there. Surely, he could not have intended that flummery for Americans; to them elegantly dressed doormen suggest inflated prices. But to people from the countries of the Old World they mean inflated values. More likely, that was what he had in mind.

Aside from the indulgence of office, there is also a vein of politicking that is more necessary to Mr. Nixon than to most recent Presidents. The present Congress is Democratic and he was elected by a narrow plurality. So he lacks the political leverage that Lyndon Johnson enjoyed because of his big vote in 1964 and his leadership of the party that then as now dominated the Congress. *He* pulled one dramatic piece of legislation after another out of that body; so many of Johnson's bills became acts that he could say that it added up to an achieved policy, the Great Society. Can Mr. Nixon do the like? He has made earnest efforts, notably in proposing new welfare legislation, but after three years it's clearly hopeless.

The one field in which a President can shape a policy unhampered by Congressional partisanship is foreign affairs. Here prevails a tradition of bipartisanship, or "politics stops at the water's edge." Here Richard Nixon can reasonably hope to match Lyndon Johnson's Great Society with a similar achievement of policy in his dealings with the world. But he has less than a year to do it. Even more dramatic efforts are required.

President Nixon came to the White House with a mandate to wind down the war in Vietnam. He has been so slow that the leadership in the Senate (Mansfield) and the chairman of the Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations (Fulbright) have been jogging his elbow, month after month. The former has concentrated on winding down the 305,000 U.S. troops (and 225,000 of their dependents) still stationed abroad, mostly in West Germany. The latter has made a cause of insisting on joint Congressional-Executive control of U.S. foreign policy. Fulbright's focus, thus, is on foreign aid.

If a continuing flow of Congressional appropriations is required to maintain any policy, foreign or domestic, constitutional usage suggests that the Congress must have as detailed an oversight over the manner of spending this public money as over the appropriation of it in the first place. To Fulbright and his group that is really a constitutional principle. It was unquestioned in the long history of the United States, because the management of our foreign affairs before World War II rarely cost more than housekeeping expenses for the State Department.

Mr. Nixon will probably get from a reluctant Congress something resembling the foreign aid bill they chopped down from the $3.55 billion he requested to $2.33 billion—a cut of more than 34 per cent, the historic record for such cutting. To top off that precedent-shattering event, the Senate rejected what it had just done and threw out, by 41 to 27, the foreign aid bill altogether! Subsequently, under White House pressure, Congress hurriedly passed a "continuing aid resolution" to keep the activity barely going at nearly the low record rate above until last December 8. Still stalling, Congress passed another such resolution on the day the session ended—December 17—which would allow the executive to dispense foreign aid at about a $2.6 billion annual level until February 15, and at a $1.5 billion level from then until March 15. The much-battered foreign aid bill will come to the surface again immediately after the new session convenes on January 18.

Continuing resolutions of the Congress may themselves be continued. The Senate wants to be a full partner in the *development* of the nation's foreign policy, and to some degree in the *management* of it, particularly as long as it requires the expenditure of foreign assistance funds. The precise definition of these functions cannot be settled short of a tug of war, and that is what is going on now between the White House and Capitol Hill.

At the moment, the President is keeping all those U.S. troops in Western Europe and has revived the foreign aid bill after its Senate rejection. But while slowly winding down the war in Vietnam (by the measure, that is, of American casualties), he has increased another U.S. military involvement in Cambodia. And the monetary and foreign trade crisis that began last August continues almost full blast, despite much nail-biting in Wall Street and the other trading capitals, this time those of the developed nations. Another splendid field of foreign policy activity has opened for a President who does not have much going for him at home.

Now Mr. Nixon is engaged in a series of slice-of-

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summit meetings with the heads of state of China and Germany and France and the United Kingdom and Canada—and, finally, Russia. He will then be dealing with *unequals,* not his fellow citizens back home. He must have money to give away and he will have plenty of it, in the form of a kind of U.S. foreign aid that is specially tailored to meet the need of *developed* countries—the long-term loans dispensed by our Export-Import Bank. All the industrialized nations of the West have long had access to it, and it has been denied almost as long to the Soviet Union and its allies. Here's a foretaste of the coming summitry: Romania, a satellite, has just received an allotment of $150 million of Ex-Im Bank credits; Poland has filed an application for more; the U.S. Secretary of Commerce—a harbinger, this time of the President himself—has told American newsmen in Moscow that he (after a round of high-level talks in the Kremlin) foresees that U.S.-Soviet foreign trade will rise by 1980 to $2 billion a year, or approximately ten times what it is today. Such an enormous flotation can be imagined only on a tide of U.S. Ex-Im Bank credits.

Meanwhile, what of foreign aid, old style? The liberal and much respected Majority Leader of the Senate, Mike Mansfield, said last month: "The people are very much fed up on foreign aid [old style]—at least in its present form—and some are fed up with foreign aid in toto. Some of them have been fed up with foreign aid from the very beginning. They never had any sympathy with it." Yet it has lasted for a quarter of a century and $145 billion of expenditure. And it won't die now either, although Mr. Nixon is probably the most conservative President since Hoover. However, he is a far better politician, and he can't run his announced specialty, foreign affairs, without a bankroll. □

MR. NIXON'S OTHER GREEK

NASSIKAS SETS YOUR GAS BILL

ROBERT SHERRILL

Washington

John Nassikas is the other Greek in Nixon's political family. Unlike Spiro Agnew he seldom says anything colorful and is, in fact, almost unknown to the general press and to the public, but he affects most American lives far more intimately than any Vice President ever will. Within the past year Nassikas has supervised the transfer of many millions of dollars from the pocket of the consumer into the corporate pocket of the oil and gas industry. And you probaby didn't even feel it happen. A very deft, powerful man, this Nassikas, chairman of the Federal Power Commission.

The FPC's most important role is regulating the interstate sale and distribution of natural gas. Directly or indirectly, Nassikas and the other four FPC commissioners enter into the lives of 42 million residential, commercial and industrial users of gas. Indeed, the price they set for gas affects the price of all fuels, and determines such industry matters as whether or not the major oil companies (three-fourths of the gas is controlled by two dozen oil companies) pour money into opening up new fields in this country, or bring in liquefied gas (at a price four to ten times higher) from such places as Algeria and Russia.

With little attention from the daily press, the FPC within the past two years has significantly increased the price of all the nation's major gas supplies. Last May, for example, it voted to allow producers "a few pennies" more per 1,000 cubic feet of gas produced along the Texas Gulf Coast—a trivial-sounding increase that could, in fact, raise gas bills as much as 50 per cent in some parts of the nation.

Last July the FPC did it again, in spades, this time for the producers in southern Louisiana—the nation's most bountiful gas fields. It's tricky trying to put a specific dollar tag on a sale of that size, but some experts believe the new rate will force consumers of southern Louisiana gas to pay at least $4.7 billion more for the pleasure of using the clean blue flame. You can be certain of one thing—it is no $4.7 billion misunderstanding. When nice things like that happen to a regulated industry, it is deliberate.

Among other campaign promises made in 1968, Richard Nixon vowed to reverse what he called the Democrats' "heavy-handed bureaucratic regulatory schemes." Nowhere was he more interested in making good on his promise than with the Federal Power Commission, which had been responding slowly, if at all, to the gas industry's pleas for higher prices.

Seven months after his inauguration, Nixon reached into New Hampshire and tapped John Nassikas as the man to swing the FPC into a friendlier attitude toward industry.

Why him? It's a question often asked about regulatory commissioners. Most of them come out of relative obscurity, serve in Washington in virtual anonymity and, when their terms are up, usually vanish again (which is sometimes their single public-spirited action). Yet the work they do in their bureaucratic interim does a great deal to set the mood and the prosperity of the nation. So the question of why a President selects this particular regulator at that particular point in history is more than a parlor riddle. Why, then, Nassikas?

He was a corporation lawyer well known in New Hampshire, but that doesn't take much doing—there are fewer than 400 practicing members of the bar in New Hampshire. Although Nassikas was known locally as a good Republican organizer and fund raiser, he had never got his feet even slightly wet for the national party. However, Nassikas had other basic qualities that some White House talent scout apparently knew about. To under-

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stand what they were one must go back to the immigration to America in 1902 of Nicholas Nassikas, a young Macedonian Greek on the make.

The elder Nassikas did well. First as an importer of olive oil, then as a grocer and manufacturer of feta cheese during World War I (when German subs ended the importation of such items), he parlayed his savings into a classic milk, butter, creamery operation in the city of Manchester, N.H. And from that he moved to a wholesale ice cream business called NICCO (Nassikas' Ice Cream Company), which he sold in 1932 to H. P. Hood and Sons, the largest dairy distributors in New England.

As soon as he started making money he went back to Greece and married Constantina Gagalis; when he returned with her, he returned also with his two brothers, who went to work for him. As for the home folks who couldn't come, he sent money to Greece to support an assortment of two dozen cousins and aunts and nephews for the next fifty years.

John Nassikas, the commissioner, was born in 1917. By that time Nicholas Nassikas was already wealthy, and the son grew up pampered not only by his parents but by two older sisters. Although the depression began settling into New England as early as the mid-1920s, with the movement of the textile mills to the South, Nassikas never felt the pinch. In 1934, with unemployment in the nation at its highest, he went to Dartmouth. He did work a bit —lighting fires at what were called "eating clubs"—but only for extra pocket money.

His bachelor's degree was in sociology, but that didn't exactly seize him, so he went for a master's degree at Harvard Business School. In 1940, he was hired by Pratt and Whitney; but after Pearl Harbor, Nassikas decided he didn't want to be deferred any longer. So the Navy put him in uniform and moved him from a desk in East Hartford, Conn. to one in Philadelphia, where he stayed for the next three years and seven months. The only difference between that job and the one at Pratt and Whitney was that now he was buying spare parts instead of selling them.

He married Constantina Andreson (the family name had originally been Androutsoupoulos), whose father had come to America at about the same time as Nassikas' father. Andreson started as a fruit peddler and eventually became wealthy selling real estate, operating eight restaurants (four in Boston, four in Worcester), and as the owner of ice cream, soft drink, liquor and candy wholesale businesses.

Nassikas graduated from Harvard Law School in 1948, and for two years practiced privately. Then he accepted a job on the state attorney general's staff. During this period, twenty years ago, Nassikas got a taste of consumer advocacy. He represented the state in successful opposition to several attempts by railroads to discontinue passenger service. He also helped prepare the case that blocked a major rate advance by the New England Telephone and Telegraph Co. And again, in 1953, after he left the attorney general's office, he was hired by the state as a special attorney to oppose an electric rate increase sought by Public Service Co. of New Hampshire. That pretty much completed the consumer side of his career.

From then on, Nassikas became best known as a lawyer for insurance, banking and utility companies. Some of the biggest such firms in New England retained him. In the early 1960s he was hired by the Boston and Maine Corporation to seek discontinuance of passenger service in New Hampshire, Maine and Vermont. He succeeded in knocking off lines he had previously fought to preserve. Later he was to concede that he could "understand why some observers call lawyers two-faced. Take me: I started off defending consumer interests against utilities with vigor and success. Then the utilities came to me and I defended them; many's the passenger run I helped eliminate. But my view is that a good lawyer is a man who can defend either side with equal vigor and effectiveness."

Nassikas emerged from the boondocks in 1968. Just why he accepted temporary employment as minority counsel on the Senate Commerce Committee isn't quite clear. He says he did it as a personal favor to Sen. Norris Cotton of New Hampshire, an old friend; but it's a rinky-dink job, even for a lawyer who is big only by New Hampshire standards. Anyway, he came to Washington and served on the staff for six months, which was hardly time enough to make much impression. One Democrat who observed him closely during the period types him as "a fairly decent guy—he wasn't venal, he wasn't a whore—but he seemed to have a hard time keeping his eye on the central issue. He kept getting tangled up in, and obsessed with, minor issues."

But Republican businessmen who knew him had a different appraisal. Nassikas, in a regional way, already had a good reputation with industry. While working on the Commerce staff he made further friends. He was no longer the 128-pound fellow who had participated in every sport but basketball at Dartmouth (5 ft. 7 in. was a bit short for that). Now he was 50 pounds heavier, and a gold chain spanned his corporate paunch, but he was still good at tennis and golf. Many of his off hours in Washington were spent on the courts and links with officials and lobbyists of the energy industries. They liked him; he talked their language.

It was the language of Horatio Alger capitalism, inherited from Papa Nassikas. "The independence, the self-reliance, the initiative, the resourcefulness, the nondependence on government, the concept of working your own way with your own talents as did my father and my father-in-law and others," says Nassikas, "all of these things I considered virtues and they are part of my belief in the free enterprise system, in the sense that if somebody in this country wishes to get ahead financially or otherwise the opportunity is there."

If you want to compete with El Paso Natural Gas Company, go build your own $100 million pipeline—in this country, anything is possible. Nassikas believes it. To the second-generation American whose family has got to the top of the melting pot, the escaping gasses can be hallucinatory.

He loves the corporate world. He loves to mouth phrases like "liberalized appreciation and accelerated amortization." He loves the pomp of corporate law, a predilection that still reveals itself at Capitol Hill hearings, where Nassikas is apt to show up with a retinue of a dozen

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John Nassikas

advisers and carrying an armload of maps and weighty statements and statistical studies.

Last spring when he appeared before the House Subcommittee on Communications and Power, he plunked down on the table his usual mound of technical goodies. Chairman Torbert Macdonald of Massachusetts stared moodily for a moment and then asked: "Were you serious in submitting this as something that the subcommittee members would read word for word?"

> *Nassikas*: "I do not expect the subcommittee to read all of the appendixes."
>
> *Macdonald*: "Then what is the point of bringing a 10-pound—how many pages would be your guess? I am sure you do not know yourself. . . ."
>
> *Nassikas*: "I thought it might be useful."

Tartly, Macdonald asked if he would rather begin reading from "the 178-page statement or the 43-page statement."

Nassikas was either secretary or clerk of thirty New Hampshire corporations before he moved to the FPC; he was a director of the Northern Railroad. He signaled his confidence in corporations by holding stock in Mobil Oil Co., Standard of New Jersey, Standard of California, U.S. Steel, Western Union, New Hampshire Insurance Co., American Tel and Tel, and Trans World Airlines, Inc. These holdings he sold when he became chairman of the FPC.

He is foursquare, with the corners supported by free enterprise, the law ("generally speaking, my interests in the law gravitated around the corporate area . . . although I must admit that, curiously enough, the criminal side and the human side of the law also interested me"), the church and the family. He is a member of the Council of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. His second faith is in his family: two daughters are married; a third, Elizabeth, is a student at Mount Holyoke, South Hadley, Mass.; and still sharing the five-bedroom, three-bath home in McLean, Va. with his parents is John III, 12, a student at the expensive, private Potomac School. Nassikas speaks Greek fluently and, although he has visited the old country only once in his life, talks about his second and third cousins in Macedonia as though they were next-door neighbors. "My family when I was growing up was extremely close. My family now, we are very close, very. I feel that to maintain my stamina I have to lead an almost sheltered life. I save most of my weekend to be with my son John." Solid.

Some Senate staffers, claiming to have inside information, say that before being nominated Nassikas was called to the White House by Peter Flanigan and told that he wouldn't get the job unless he promised to raise gas prices. Other Capitol Hill gossips say that Nassikas spent one long evening with leading gas industry executives, so that they could pick over and shred his philosophy to make sure that he was the right man for the President to appoint.

Whether or not the stories are accurate, the way they are usually told—to imply that Nassikas had to bend his will to others—does the man a disservice. Nobody had to put a hammerlock on Nassikas. Sen. Philip A. Hart, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Energy which watches the FPC, puts the Nassikas viewpoint in the right perspective: "Nassikas would resent being called the mouthpiece of industry, just as I would resent being called the spokesman for the United Auto Workers. I'm sure he is not taking the positions he takes just because industry wants him to. I'm sure he really believes those things."

Within seventy-two hours after taking office, Nassikas was publicly stating that the price of gas should be raised. Some wondered how he could come to such a quick conclusion about such a complex subject. The criticism became so sharp, and so snide, that Nassikas' patron, Senator Cotton, struck back with an unusual show of anger, accusing the last Democratic chairman of the FPC, Lee White, of "coaching and inspiring" the critics.

"Let's have things right out on the table," said Cotton. "I have had people creeping up on my blind side and I know where they came from . . . saying now is it true what I hear that this chairman [Nassikas] is an economic Tory? They say he is going to be all for utilities and all for the gas companies and all for these corporations."

Cotton said the idea was so stupid "it makes me laugh," for "I regard him as one of those liberal Republicans." No, not merely a liberal Republican but "a Rockefeller liberal Republican. I thought I was pretty lucky to get him confirmed before President Nixon found that out. So I don't regard him as a champion of entrenched power on the part of private corporations."

The pro-industry tag persisted, however, and not only

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rals. Within two months after he took over, *Street Journal* was commenting on his "friend- toward industry; and in its November 1, 1969 *Forbes* magazine, which is not noted for consumer as, was moved to paeans: "Too good to last? It's hard to see how the troubled natural gas industry could have a regulator more to its taste than the new chairman of the Federal Power Commission. . . . [He] sometimes sounds more like a natural gas executive expounding about how the FPC should regulate his industry than a man burdened with the actual responsibility of regulation."

A prescient appraisal, except that in the subsequent two years Nassikas has done much more than talk. Aside from the impressive rate increases, he has maneuvered through the FPC a dazzling array of other pro-industry rulings: forgiving nearly $400 million in overcharges; granting (for the first time in history) price increases for "old" gas—gas that is already flowing and whose production costs have already been written into the price contract—which is about the same as if General Motors were allowed to go back and raise the price of your car after you had been paying on it for a year.

Most significant of all, for the first time in history the FPC has given rate increases not merely on the basis of the cost of producing gas but as a matter of *incentive*. These are profits not aimed at a reasonable return on investments but profits designed to encourage the industry to sell more of its product. When dealing in a necessary fuel, the potential for industrial blackmail obviously exists; and it is always possible that incentive pricing is no more than the payment of blackmail. The regulatory world has had no nastier argument in recent years than the one swirling around this action.

Nassikas and his allies contend that the natural gas supply is in critical shortage and that the only way to establish a safe margin of reserves is to coax producers to explore for more gas. The oil companies can be tempted to explore, they argue, only if they are paid prices that are "competitive" with oil and coal. At present, gas is by far the cheapest fuel on the market.

But if Nassikas is so worried about the gas shortage, why didn't he get the FPC to stipulate that the producers would have to spend some of their new profits on prospecting? He has no answer to that, except to say he "thinks" industry will act properly. As for industry spokesmen, they also waffle on this point.

When Carl G. Herrington, vice president of Humble Oil Company, went before Rep. Neal Smith's energy investigating subcommittee last summer, he was asked if he would flatly assure the public that in return for the new $4.7 billion gas bill, industry would come up with additional gas supplies.

Herrington ducked, sidestepped and blocked. "Well, I think, sir, that as I pointed out before, it is certainly *reasonable* to expect increased exploration work. And if you have increased exploration work it is *reasonable* to expect some results from it. But I do not think anybody can actually predict the results of exploration work." In other words, no promises.

And how does Nassikas know that industry isn't shamming when it says there is a gas shortage? How does he know it isn't simply trying to frighten more profits out of the FPC? "All the pipeline companies—all the major ones—or at least the majority of them, are curtailing their service because they are unable to obtain gas," he says. "And when you have companies that are searching the world for liquefied gas and are willing to invest billions of dollars in places like the Arctic to get gas, that should be taken as evidence of shortage."

It is taken as evidence of shortage only by those who are willing to credit the oil and gas companies with good faith. Many are not; they contend that the producers are —if not flat lying—at least engaged in the suppression of facts. They believe the producers know where plenty of gas is to be found and are pulling a production "strike." In some cases, they say, the gas has been found—and capped to await higher prices. Among those who accuse the producers of this deception is the Governor of the country's biggest gas producing state, John McKeithen of Louisiana.

Charles F. Wheatley, Jr., general manager of the American Public Gas Association (which, because its membership is made up of publicly owned distribution systems, usually speaks for the consumer) thinks it odd that the producers did not "discover" a shortage until after both the FPC and the Supreme Court had rejected their appeal for a rate increase in 1968. The Court and the commission said that industry's records, such as they were, revealed no dwindling supply. From that year onward, the industry's reports of new gas fell off dramatically.

One reason why consumer leaders become so enraged at Nassikas over this issue is that he accepts without question—as have all FPC chairmen before him—the industry's gas supply data. Some critics contend that he *prefers* industry data to those worked up by his own staff. Last summer somebody on the FPC staff became so rebellious that he slipped to columnist Jack Anderson intrastaff memos which seemed to show that the producers' gas reserves figures were 42 per cent understated (as compared to figures worked up by the FPC's own staff experts). Anderson charged Nassikas with covering up for the gas producers, so that they could get their higher rates. Nassikas, of course, denied it.

The FPC has traditionally played along with industry in this way. The commission has no independent information about how much gas is available or how much is being burned. The industry refuses to let the FPC look at its books. It submits generalized summations of cost, production and supply and, since the price of gas is based on these summations, in a very real sense the industry sets its own prices. Nassikas apparently doesn't mind. He says coolly that he is confident the figures are "reasonably reliable."

By now the reader may be wondering why the FPC doesn't measure the gas supply for itself (even go out and drill its own exploratory wells, if necessary) to see if the industry is lying. After all, it is the public's gas that the companies are using as a commodity—most of it comes from leased federal lands—so the public's officials certainly have a right to make an inventory.

From time to time, there have been men on the com-

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mission who wanted to do just that. Even FPC commissioners have some pride; even they can be embarrassed by the practice of running their operation with data supplied by the American Gas Association. So when Lee White was chairman, the FPC asked Congress to give it money to conduct its own survey of gas supply and use. White's outfit asked for it in 1967, 1968 and 1969—and the request never even got out of the House committee.

Now the "independent" survey has been funded and has been started, but in what a suspicious style! Scheduled to be finished by January 1973, the survey is under the direction and, one might add, the thumb of industry moguls. Squeezed in among "advisory" representatives from Phillips, Texaco, Standard, Shell, Consolidated Natural Gas Company, Amoco, Tenneco, etc., is the consumer's representative Virginia H. Knauer, special assistant to the President for consumer affairs. On the survey's supply committee, which will estimate the gas reserves and thereby indirectly set rates, the consumer is not represented at all.

Moreover, the moguls include some who know how to play political pool. Eleven of them on the National Gas Survey Executive Advisory Committee contributed from $500 to $45,000 (most contributed $1,000) to the Republican Party in 1968. After looking over the personnel of the gas survey committee, John Rayburn, counsel for the House Committee on Small Business Problems, asked Nassikas if he didn't think the consumer should be more prominently represented. Nassikas didn't jump at the idea. He said he'd have to know who Rayburn had in mind before he would agree. Anyway, Nassikas added, "the Federal Power Commission is representing the consumer predominantly."

Asked by Rayburn if the public would get to know what the surveyors discovered, Nassikas said absolutely not. Those are trade secrets. But once again he insisted that the FPC "is representing the public" and, just as the FPC has faith in industry figures, "the public must have some faith in what we do."

Faith is what it takes, for the FPC has done little over the years to build evidence of its ability to cope with its share of the energy problem. The FPC's endless goof began in 1938 with the passage of the Natural Gas Act. Go and regulate the price of interstate gas, said Congress. And immediately the FPC began pretending it didn't understand. Pipeline prices, yes, it was willing to tackle those. But not well-head prices, not the price of gas as it came out of the ground. It claimed it had neither the authority nor the obligation to do so.

For a while the FPC got by with this, because few people cared about gas. In the 1930s it was the part of the pig that nobody wanted. In those days nobody actually hunted for natural gas; it was something they got by accident in the search for oil. They sold the oil, and they burned the gas—flared it right there in the fields and everybody considered it good riddance to a waste product.

Not until after World War II, and the development of major markets via the big gas pipelines, did the fuel get a better reputation. And with the reputation came a renewed concern as to just who was minding the prices. The question went to the Supreme Court, which in 1954 ruled that the FPC was out of its bureaucratic mind if it thought it could regulate a national industry by regulating only the transportation of the product and not the price of the product itself. It ordered the commission to get about its business of regulating well-head prices.

Addled, lethargic, the commission achieved nothing for the next six years. From 1954 to 1960 gas regulation was a total disaster. There were thousands of oil and gas producers, and finally in 1960 the FPC threw up its hands and admitted it simply couldn't regulate the industry on a company-by-company basis. It decided to lump them into geographical areas, and that's the way the rate making has been done since 1960. It has been very slow going—not until 1968, fourteen years after the Supreme Court ordered the FPC to get cracking, did a major rate ruling go into effect.

After the Eisenhower FPC—a commission correctly appraised by James Landis, former Harvard Law School dean, as "the outstanding example in the federal government of the breakdown of the administrative process"—the Kennedy commission chaired by Joseph Swidler seemed revolutionarily activist. Under Swidler, now head of the New York Public Service Commission, the FPC forced gas producers to roll back rates by $215 million a year; it also ordered the refund of more than half a billion in overcharges.

When a commission is pro-consumer, other things begin to happen. David Freeman, who was assistant to Swidler for four years and was later a top energy adviser to both Lyndon Johnson and Nixon, recalls:

> Oh God, the pressures were tremendous. Congressman Albert Thomas of Houston was chairman of our appropriations subcommittee. If you want to read some blistering hearings, look at the ones for the 1963-64 budget. That was after Joe had rolled back some of the gas production prices and closed some pricing loopholes. The producers hated us for it, and Thomas was speaking for the producers. The transcript that's printed is rough enough, but you should have seen the transcript before it was edited. It was such a rough session that Mr. Jonas, the Republican from North Carolina who had been an old-time critic of Joe's when Joe was general counsel for TVA, pulled a cigar out of his pocket and leaned across the table and handed it to Joe just as a friendly gesture, as if to say "you've really been catching it."

And then, says Freeman, "there was the phone conversation I will never forget," from Sen. Carl Hayden of Arizona, then chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee. Hayden wanted to put in a good word about an application for a dam-building license before the FPC and

> Joe practically had to hang up on him. Joe Swidler is one guy who really believes in this *ex parte* rule and really enforces it. He enforces it against everybody. He just politely told Mr. Hayden he could not talk about that case. The chairman of the Senate money committee: well, you just don't get pressure that's any tougher than that.
>
> As a matter of fact, the White House tried to pressure us on the same matter, and we were so damn dumb that we didn't know we were being pressured. We heard that our budget was on Ted Sorenson's desk. I remember saying to Joe, "Gee, imagine Ted

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taking an interest in our budget." What they were trying to signal to us was that they were unhappy because we weren't cooperating with the Administration on that dam.

Part of an FPC chairman's vulnerability stems from the fact that the energy world is virtually unknown to the average American. "Because the power commission handles matters of grave importance to the power industry and the general public pays practically no attention," says Freeman, "the man who is sitting in the chairman's chair is really sitting in a hot box, and nobody seems to give a damn."

> Go through a commissioner's life. He comes to his office in the morning and what does he have on his desk to read? He has the *Oil & Gas Journal*, he has *Electrical World*, he has an industry poop sheet. Who comes to see him? The presidents of power companies and the presidents of gas companies. If the president of the League of Women Voters ever set foot in that building, she'd get lost. If a reporter from *The New York Times* comes by to see you, that's got to be because of some extraordinary event. You don't get the general press coming by over there unless somebody in your agency has committed theft, or the lights have gone out. But day in and day out you're over there all by yourself.
>
> And I think I know why. The power commission is dealing mostly with wholesale. They are dealing with matters one step removed from the consumer. They never handle retail rates. There are so many things the average citizen has to be concerned about, and there are so many government agencies, and the FPC is so mysterious. To participate in an FPC proceeding is a very time-consuming, expensive, complicated thing. Almost every lawyer who practices before the FPC used to work there. You've really got to be an expert in all this rigmarole and gobbledygook to be able to participate. It's not a place where a little old lady walks in off the street and is made very welcome. Not that they are discourteous; it's just that the place is set up for experts. It's set up for the industry. The key to how much consumer orientation there is depends on who is sitting in the chairman's chair, and what the White House policies are. It's just that simple.

Nassikas does not complain of being lonely, or isolated from the consumer. And far from minding the constant "industrializing" of the commission from the outside, he has added some from the inside, bringing into the FPC such men as T. A. Phillips, former vice president of the Arizona Public Service Company, an electric utility, to be chief of the FPC's Bureau of Power; Kenneth Lukas, now Nassikas' assistant, previously president and treasurer of the Manchester, N.H. Gas Company, a client of Nassikas' old law firm; and Gordon Gooch, who after seven years at Baker, Botts, Andrews and Shepherd, a Houston law firm, became the FPC's chief attorney.

Baker, Botts is not, as a matter of fact, just a Houston law firm. It is one of the three most powerful law firms in that oil town and, although it has crack lawyers for every field, it is especially hot as an oil and gas law firm. One of the senior partners of Baker, Botts is also general counsel for Pennzoil United—a multibillion-dollar "natural resources" conglomerate which owns, among other things, United Gas Pipeline, said to be the highest volume pipeline in the country. It is regulated by the FPC.

And speaking of Baker, Botts calls to mind the other men President Nixon has sent to the FPC to bolster the Nassikas viewpoint. Baker, Botts has been the way station for many bright young attorneys who went on to other oil-and-gas specialty firms. One of these is Rush Moody, Jr., who graduated from the University of Texas Law School in 1956, stopped off at Baker, Botts before traveling on in 1960 to join, and in 1963 to become a partner in, Stubman, McRae, Sealy, Laughlin and Browder—a Midland, Tex. firm which draws much of its business from petroleum. It has handled some of the biggest rate cases before the FPC.

One story about the selection of Moody for the FPC has it that the offer of a commission post was made first to one of the firm's senior partners, Tom Sealy, an intimate of many of the political honchos of Texas, but that when he heard about the $38,000 salary he laughed and suggested maybe it would be better to get somebody who was just as friendly to the industry but could stand that kind of income. Somebody like Moody.

Moody's nomination naturally caused some concern among consumer groups, but the young lawyer promised to sell his modest holdings of oil and gas stock (Coquina Oil Company, New Zealand Petroleum Company, Pennzoil Offshore Gas Operators, Inc., and Windecker Research Inc.) and his Texas oil and gas royalty arrangements, and to step aside when his old law firm brought a case to the FPC. (Oh, yes, there was one other block of stocks—500 shares of Lone Star Gas Co.—which he neglected to mention in his statement of holdings—as submitted to the Commerce Committee. Moody said it was just an oversight. He sold the stock to Charles L. Tigh, a partner in his old law firm.) Such measures of purification, however, still leave some observers uneasy. Sen. Thomas McIntyre of New Hampshire, for example, said at the time that it did seem to him "highly illogical" to expect the young man "to reorient the direction of his allegiance overnight, to become, in effect, a dispassionate umpire instead of an impassioned player."

An interesting holdover from the Johnson era is Commissioner Albert Bushong Brooke, Jr., named to the FPC in 1968 and reappointed by Nixon in 1969. He was sponsored by Sen. Everett Dirksen—whose profitable ties with the oil and gas industry comprise one of the more sordid chapters in Senatorial ethics—and by former Kentucky Sen. Thruston Morton. For ten years Brooke was a staff assistant to Morton, before Morton left the Senate and became director of Texas Gas Transmission, one of the major pipeline companies regulated by the FPC. When, on the eve of Brooke's confirmation hearing before the Commerce Committee, this was brought out by the Washington *Daily News*, the seeming conflict of interest was smoothed over by Senator Cotton, who brought to the committee a message from Morton—"He wished me to state that he has not and would not dream of exercising any influence on his former administrative assistant, Commissioner Brooke, in connection with any case, and certainly not one affecting the Texas Gas Transmission Co."

The other newcomer recruited for the commission by Mr. Nixon is Pinkney Walker, a Texan who used to be

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employed at the University of Missouri as an economics professor and business school dean. Consumer groups were worried about him because at various times he had served as a consultant for Southwestern Bell Telephone Company, Mississippi River Transmission Corp. and Missouri Power and Light, and had participated for a fee in programs set up by the Panhandle Eastern Gas Pipe Line Co., the Eastern Gas Line Co., the American Gas Association and Bendix Corp. In every consultant case he espoused higher profits for the companies and higher prices for the consumer. He owned $127,000 in bank stock, had helped organize two banks, and was on the board of directors of three banks and an insurance company. All this he gave up and promised to serve his country fairly and impartially.

Such promises, and the overall tone of the Nassikas commision, have various effects on various people. At the confirmation hearings for Walker, for example, one of the gadfly consumer spokesmen, Anthony R. Martin-Trigona, an Illinois lawyer who moves under the banner of People Organized to Win Effective Regulation (POWER), was glum.

"In the past two and a half years," he said, "the FPC has become the most anti-consumer and hostile to the public interest of all the federal agencies. There is almost a blatant advocacy of the industry position." He was even so unkind as to identify some commissioners as "hired guns" of industry.

Still, as Nassikas knows, you can't please everybody. And surely he must sometimes wonder why consumer spokesmen always take the negative approach. Why don't they see things in a positive way, as Pennzoil United did in its 1970 annual report: "Recent developments are encouraging. The past two years brought more serious and candid concern, especially by the Federal Power Commission, than the entire decade before." □

ADVERTISING'S IMAGE

PUFFERY OR EFFRONTERY?

THOMAS DE BAGGIO
Mr. De Baggio is editor of Consumer Newsweek, *a Washington, D.C. newsletter.*

Washington

Advertising is going through a period of intense examination and change, brought on by critical assaults and consumer skepticism. And while criticism and disbelief are not new to the business, dissatisfaction has reached new heights. Environmentalists have charged that many corporate ads proclaiming anti-pollution programs are only masks for greed-induced ecological disasters. They have won important legal battles to get equal time to rebut the broadcast ads, stretching the FCC "fairness" doctrine that allowed anti-smoking commercials to offset cigarette commercials.

Spokesmen for the nation's poor, including officials of the federal anti-poverty agency, have criticized ad agencies for not taking into consideration the consequences of their materialistic propaganda. "Lacking the possessions and services depicted by the media and by advertising as necessities of modern living, they [the poor] are psychologically conditioned to equate possessions with well-being," says William Sharp, director of the U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity's communication development division, and himself a former adman. "They are therefore quick to accept inducements to purchase so as to receive premiums or enter contests, receive deals and discounts without the information or the objectivity to measure their value."

Representatives of minority groups have also issued complaints. "There seems to be an attitude on the part of advertisers that America is basically a racist society," says Domingo Nick Reyes, director of the National Mexican-American Anti-Defamation Committee and another former media man. He suggests that ad agencies be required to file annual reports on minority group casting for commercials.

Other critics maintain that government regulators are still waltzing to advertising's pre-video tunes. "The pre-video standards of unfairness and deception are no longer sufficient to protect consumers against the high-pressure supersell of the television commercial," argues Whitney Adams of the National Organization for Women. "We submit that the concept of deception under Federal Trade Commission regulations must be expanded in view of the pyschological and technical sophistication of television advertising today."

Women's Liberation is up in arms because its constituency is the chief target—and prime lure—for the majority of TV huckstering. One study of commericals aired over San Francisco television stations reported 65 per cent of them were aimed solely at women; in daytime hours, the figure jumped to 90 per cent. However, not only matters of taste and exploitation are at issue. "In a survey conducted in the Washington metropolitan area," says Whitney Adams, "it was found that television commercials playing on women's anxieties regarding their personal appearance made up 11.6 per cent of the total ads. Almost all of these commercials should be illegal because they imply or promise unrealistic results—the approval of the opposite sex."

Parents, too, have become acutely dissatisfied. One group of them, under the banner of Action for Children's Television, submitted a petition to the FTC asking for a ban of drug and toy advertising on children's TV shows. "All product advertising directed to children is misleading and unfair," the organization maintains. "The purpose is to use the child as a surrogate salesman to pressure the parent into buying the product." A previous petition filed

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with the FCC by the group demanded a cleanup of children's TV. It has drawn more than 100,000 comments to the commission.

Even business has become disenchanted. A *Harvard Business Review* poll of 2,700 executives, reported in the May-June issue, disclosed that two out of every three businessmen believed that advertising failed to present "a true picture of the product advertised." Analysis of the results showed a continuing respect for advertising as a selling tool, the magazine said, but "businessmen are increasingly uneasy about other aspects, such as truthfulness and social impact."

Legislators are also showing concern. Some have introduced bills to levy sales taxes on advertising, arguing that needed revenues are escaping through deductions of advertising expenditures as a cost of doing business. That means, in effect, that a substantial part of the advertising bill is footed by the target of that advertising—the general taxpayer. In the last two years, eighteen states have rejected proposals to tax advertising, primarily because of strong pressure applied to sensitive legislative nerves by media and advertising lobbyists. A 4 per cent tax on advertising in District of Columbia magazines, newspapers, radio, television and billboards was defeated on November 11 by secret vote in the House of Representatives. Rep. Thomas G. Abernethy (D., Miss.) blamed the influence of the National Newspaper Association for the rejection. An earlier tax proposal had failed to receive House District Committee approval in 1969. However, seven states —Alaska, Arizona, Hawaii, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Washington and West Virginia—have managed to withstand the special interests and adopt ad tax laws.

But advertising's social implications occasion the most interest on Capitol Hill. A truth in advertising bill, failing to get immediate FTC support, bogged down. The proposal would set up a research institute and force advertisers to send consumers whatever substantiation existed for advertising claims. An Omnibus Drug Act, introduced by Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D., Wis.), includes a requirement that over-the-counter drug ads, one of TV's financial pillars, be cleared first by the Food and Drug Administration. The bill also requires that the preparations be proved efficacious, something that producers of mood drugs and painkillers have already found difficult to do. Nelson's Senate Monopoly Subcommittee has been holding hearings on drugs for four and a half years. In 1971, he touched advertising nerves when he gave Nicholas Johnson, the FCC's maverick commissioner, a platform to call for the prohibition of all broadcast drug commercials because of the harm they allegedly do. In 1970, television pill-pushing cost more than $300 million. Some firms spent as much as 36 per cent of their revenues that year to promote their brand of drug culture, according to figures compiled by *Advertising Age*. Well over half the money spent on advertising by drug manufacturers went to the networks.

Elsewhere in Washington, the FTC, the government's first line of defense against huckster hoodwinking, began a salvage operation on its tarnished image. Under Chairman Miles Kirkpatrick, it has begun two major strategies to help advertising reform itself. One, designed to humble advertisers through public penance, requires that "corrective" information be included in commercials as part of consent decrees in cases where statements are judged to have been misleading. Recently, for example, Warner-Lambert Pharmaceuticals was asked to run ads to correct the misconception that Listerine is an effective germ killer. Sun Oil's claim that Sunoco 260 gasoline improves auto power and performance was also challenged. Two sugar industry associations were asked to run ads correcting the impression that eating sugar-heavy products before meals is a good way to reduce. Only one of the firms has as yet run such advertising. ITT Continental Bakeries, makers of Profile bread, has begun correcting any illusion that consumers might have as to Profile's weight-reducing ability.

An even greater worry to Madison Avenue is FTC's campaign to require manufacturers to substantiate advertising boasts. Auto, electric razor, air conditioning and television manufacturers have been asked to produce their documentation. So far, only the seven auto makers' data have been made public. The 1,200 pages of substantiation, varying greatly in quality, have proven almost useless to the public, but did disclose the self-serving nature of many claims. FTC staffers are poring over the documents in an effort to spot possible abuses which could become the basis of litigation.

In October and November, the agency also conducted fifteen days of unprecedented hearings into advertising's impact on society. Although the hearings ended somewhat inconclusively—admen were sighing that a "blood bath" had been averted—the announcement in May that such hearings would be called had so unnerved industry leaders that they formed a top-secret task force to prepare defensive strategy. The ad agencies kept such a tight clamp on what they were preparing that even participants were in the dark about one another's identity.

The industry combine of advertisers and their agencies also performed a deft backstage minuet with the FTC. In a confidential memo—revealed in *Consumer Newsweek*, a Washington newsletter—Peter Allport, president of the Association of National Advertisers, whispered of his success at manipulating the hearings. He boasted that his group, with the American Association of Advertising Agencies, had prevented the FTC from scheduling critical government officials and other individuals hostile to advertising before admen had a chance to win the first day's headlines. He also claimed credit for having docketed more than 25 per cent of the total hearing time for the opinions of his joint task force (representing only one view within the industry); for having obtained tight FTC screening of witnesses, to weed out certain critics; and, most important, for having persuaded the agency to eliminate from consideration the relationship of advertising to industrial concentration, a sore subject in the trade. The FTC is continuing a belated probe into the subject in several internal studies. One, on the breakfast cereal industry, is expected to be finished some time this month.

But despite their apparently successful stand at the hearings, admen have exhibited signs of strain and bewilderment at being hit from so many sides at once. The dizziness thus induced has sent them grasping for

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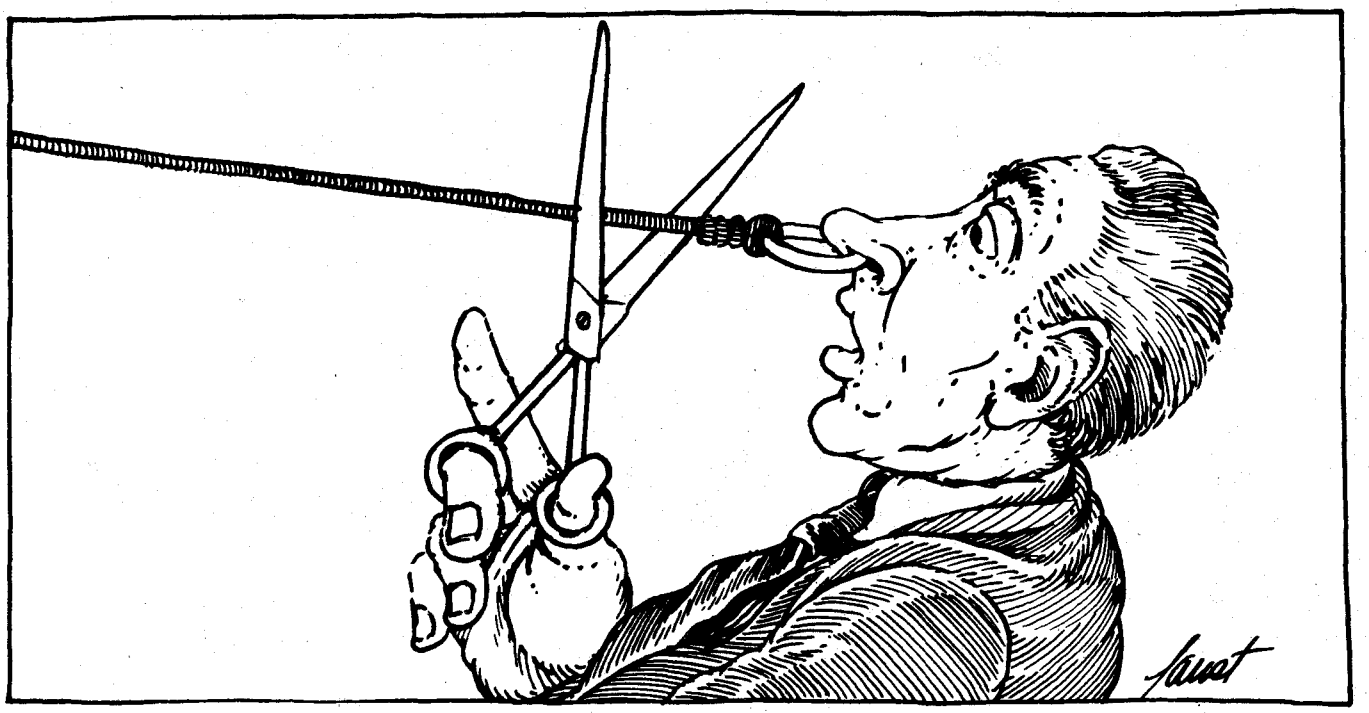

hard lines. Lee Loevinger, a former FCC commissioner and now a Washington lawyer who speaks as one of Madison Avenue's hired hands, summed up the admen's puzzlement: "The question arises, why these ideas are being espoused at the present time, when the general level of advertising is clearly higher than it has been in the past."

The answer, says Donald Kendall, Pepsi-Cola's chief executive, is that advertising offers "the highest silhouette, the most convenient aiming point. . . . I think that the ultimate target is free enterprise itself." Another view comes from Edward W. Thiele, chairman of the American Association of Advertising Agencies, who blames "irresponsible consumerism." He told his group's annual convention that this new force "assumes that the consumer needs to be protected from himself because he doesn't know what's good for him. That's the kind of consumerism it's so hard for us and our clients to live with. By its nature it is at odds with the basic premises of the advertising business, the open marketplace, freedom of choice, the free enterprise system itself."

These notions, like the hard-sell techniques of yesteryear, seem extreme by comparison with the more conciliatory attitudes ushering in the new age of advertising. "Advertising can and should stand the glare of public scrutiny," says Howard Bell, American Advertising Federation president, who has helped to initiate a reassessment in the ad business. "We recognize that it, like all institutions, has its imperfections."

But more than criticism of imperfections is bothering admen. Already on guard against further government regulation of their business, they grow indignant when it is suggested that ads should be made to pass tests for honesty and accuracy before being used. They question the constitutionality of such an approach. Admen also fear government regulators do not understand the basic mechanics or purpose of advertising. They see their role as central to the present marketing system, essential to the economy's health. But many FTC staffers, says Allport, "hold the view that advertising's only economic and social justification is to provide 'information' from which consumers can make 'rational purchasing decisions'. . . . Persuasion or any appeal to emotion or sentiment and the like is taboo." If this attitude prevails, he notes, admen had better start learning new trades.

His views are endorsed by Alvin A. Achenbaum, marketing director for the giant J. Walter Thompson agency. Without heavy emphasis on "persuasion," he says, ads would not work. But what admen mean by "persuasion" is complex and full of hairsplitting. "There is nothing manipulative in the selection of the information to be conveyed or its withholding," Achenbaum asserts. "Nor is there anything manipulative when comparisons are not made or when subjective views are conveyed."

Achenbaum quotes approvingly from Prof. Theodore Levitt's romantic view of the adman: "Neither the poet nor the adman celebrates the literal functionality of what he produces. Instead, each celebrates a deep and complex emotion which he symbolizes by creative embellishment." He adds: "We see no evidence that these practices are themselves unfair or deceptive . . . we do not perceive them as being manipulative."

Even conservative FTC Commissioner Paul Rand Dixon objected to such reasoning at the hearings. "You have set up the definition so that it only includes half the danger," he snapped. "One of these days someone—this commission or the Congress—will have to decide whether advertising drugs on TV has led to the drug culture. I don't believe any manufacturer had a sinister motive or was venal enough to manipulate our youth to hard drugs. But if that happens, what would you call it?"

That exchange pointed up the immensity of the problems facing advertisers, consumers and regulators. In their race for the $50 billion youth market, advertisers in 1970 swamped youngsters with 1 billion feet of comic-book advertising and 150 million square feet of advertis-

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ing on the backsides of cereal boxes, according to Robert Choate, chairman of the Council on Children, Media and Merchandising. The typical youth has been exposed to as many as 300,000 television commercials by the time he reaches 16, estimates Dr. John Condry, a specialist in human ecology at Cornell University.

TV commercials directed at children have caused controversy almost everywhere. Although little research has been done on the effect of such ads, only five countries allow commercials on children's shows and two, Great Britain and Australia, have government-set standards. U.S. broadcasting standards, set up and enforced by the industry, allow twice as many commercials on children's shows as on adult programs.

The impossibility of monitoring this flow of hucksterism has led moralists like Choate to devise an eleventh commandment: "Thou shalt not covet my child's purse." To enforce it, he suggests a children's merchandising division at the FTC and a code for advertising edibles. "Blacking out the TV set, the comic book, the radio and the breakfast-table billboard is not the answer," he says, "for a child is also influenced by what ads his peers have seen and read and heard."

Research on the influence of advertising is another blank. "With all its large expenditures on research, advertising and industry have completely disregarded the question of how advertising affects the society in which it operates," says William G. Capitman, president of the Center for Research in Marketing. "My own conclusion is that advertising, backed by academics and paid for by industry, pursues a course of complete irresponsibility and lack of social concern."

Although there is little research in the public domain, the ad agencies have been ready enough to express a desire to do better. An industry-wide program to tackle advertising abuses was officially launched on September 28, one month before the FTC opened its hearings. Both admen and critics view the formation of this National Advertising Review Board (NARB) with some optimism, though from different perspectives. Some critics see it as the opening wedge for some type of pre-clearance. Admen expect it to improve credibility.

The board is a joint effort of the Council of Better Business Bureaus (CBBB), the American Advertising Federation, the American Association of Advertising Agencies and the Association of National Advertisers. The organization handles only national advertising, about 40 per cent of the total, but CBBB hopes local groups will spring up to monitor research commercials at their level.

Ad complaints go first to the national advertising division of the CBBB or are developed at the staff level. If no resolution can be made, the complaint is sent to a special panel chosen from the review board's fifty members. If the panel cannot resolve the complaint, an appropriate government agency is called in.

Admen point to the ten "public members" on the review board as evidence of their profound commitment to reform. But a 20 per cent allotment is too small to be effective, said the House Subcommittee on Activities of Regulatory Agencies Relating to Small Business in a report that also questioned the effectiveness of self-regulatory measures in the broadcast industry. The subcommittee noted that the poor, minority groups and women were not adequately represented on the review board. It raised serious doubts about the secrecy surrounding NARB meetings and its reliance on confidential reports. This skepticism was strengthened by comments made by Neal W. O'Connor, representative of ad agencies on the board's steering committee. "If we do our work well," he told *The New York Times* two months after the board's formation, "these complaints will be settled in private. If we really work well the public won't know we're around."

Some uncertainty as to which side "public" members might be on arose when it was announced that Norman Cousins, former *Saturday Review* editor and a "public" board member, had consented to become a voice for the industry's organized presentation at the FTC's hearings in October. Cousins diplomatically took the wrong plane, ending up in Boston instead of Washington on the day he was due to testify, but his statement became part of the record submitted by the ad industry.

One of the board's staunchest defenders is Elisha Gray II, retired head of the Whirlpool Corporation and now CBBB chairman. He makes no pretense that altruism is behind the creation of the review board. "In my opinion," he says "it is pure, unadulterated self-interest. This discipline must be made effective, if only to reduce the outrageous discount rate that our customers now put on our advertising messages."

But will it work? Mark Silbergeld, a Ralph Nader assistant and former FTC lawyer, was among the first to try it. He filed ten complaints, questioning ad practices that ranged from traditional puffery to the more recent testimonial huckstering. Among his exhibits were ads using allegedly misleading "medical" data and one that was said to urge on children the notion that indiscriminate consumption is fun. Silbergeld's complaints reflect some of the tricky, subjective questions of ethics, taste and subtleties of psychology, morals and politics that will need to be faced in coming months.

There are already skeptics within the industry. Andrew Vladimir, a Miami adman with Madison Avenue experience and values, thinks "self-regulation will not work by itself in our industry." Choate, in testimony presented to the FTC, described a conversation he had with C. W. Cook, chairman of General Foods, one of the world's largest advertisers. "I suggested," said Choate, "that advertising men, afloat in a world of puffery, have lost the ability to judge when they are lying. His response was: 'I fear you are correct.'"

Creation of the review board indicates not only the influence of corporate liberalism within the ranks of what *Advertising Age* calls "adfolk" but the values that have caused skepticism to flourish. "It is the appearance of truth which is important to an advertiser, rather than literal truth or the whole truth," says Capitman. "I might cite as an example the new advertisements for a deodorant, in which the president of the advertising agency appears in the commercial to tell the 'truth.' He says that no anti-perspirant can keep you dry, but his brand keeps you 'drier.' It's not perfect, he says, but it will do just that. The fact that the same claim could be made for a bathroom towel does not deter the advertiser, nor does

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he explain what his brand will keep you drier than, or how dry it will keep you."

While the FTC has taken a tougher approach to advertising's foibles, the moves made thus far seem designed more to bolster advertising's credibility than to protect consumers. Demands for corrected ads and substantiating data attempt only to dissipate deceptions long after they have been successful. The commission is a long way from getting to the root of the problem: the whole value system implicit in the creation of deceptive, irrational and subliminal huckstering. It is also slow to probe the dark area of advertising's role in the acquisition of monopoly and oligopoly control of certain industries.

It is unlikely that in an election year Congress can offer any practical help. Its past attempts to unravel the tricks of packaging, safety and lending have had only limited success. But it will tackle the advertising problem early this year, when it begins serious consideration of the truth in advertising bill, a warranty bill and other consumer measures that bear at least partially on advertising.

From all these moves and countermoves, both advertisers and their critics have discovered that public sensibilities have changed. What was once only "puffery" is now seen as effrontery. To a greater extent than before, advertising faces demands for information and accuracy. But the hard questions hover unanswered in the background. Has advertising passed its peak of effectiveness in pushing consumer goods and services? Is it simply a tool of the monopolists, lending a semblance of competition where none exists? Hard sell, soft sell, psychic sell—is truth serum the next step? Or did the Greeks, from whom we have adopted so much, speak a more constant truth when they said, "The market is a place set aside where men can deceive one another." □

RADICALS SOBER UP

THE NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT

EDWARD GREER

Mr. Greer is director of the Urban Affairs Program, Wheaton College (Mass.), whose study of Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind., will be published by Monthly Review Press. He served for a time as a member of Mayor Hatcher's staff, and is one of the organizers of the New American Movement.

An almost universal skepticism has greeted the first reports from the Davenport, Iowa, Thanksgiving conference of the New American Movement (NAM). Although movement activists noted for their almost phlegmatic aplomb returned home to tell their friends of "a historic turning point for the American Left"; although the handful of reporters present wrote stories—like the one in *The New York Times* of November 30—which conveyed a sense that the meeting was radically different in content and tone from other left-wing gatherings of the recent past, people within and around the movement could scarcely bring themselves to believe the reports.

They are, however, substantially true. An event of significance did take place at Davenport: a highly structured meeting of several hundred people, representing chapters in more than twenty cities, set up the skeleton of a mass Socialist organization. The organization eschewed sectarian, ultra-leftist and anarchist paths. It used an almost subdued rhetoric. And it defined itself programmatically.

NAM set for itself the task of trying "to bring together working people with concrete programs." It defined initial economic programs with a degree of specificity and a realism almost unprecedented on the New Left. And it stated that NAM's goal of a Socialist America "is a vision with roots deep in the American soil."

Who formed NAM, and how? What did those of us who created NAM see as its mission, and what are the political assumptions on which NAM is based? What specifically is the New American Movement going to do until its formal founding convention this summer? Can a group which has arisen from the New Left (albeit a very specific component of it) seriously hope to transcend its middle-class social composition and eventually become a mass organization of working people?

For several years, little circles of New Left radicals have been talking about, and trying to create, a new type of organization. All these attempts aborted. In the atmosphere of angry infighting that has prevailed among various tendencies of the student movement such a project was impossible. (Anyone who tried was branded a "revisionist" or worse.) Moreover, there being no prospect of a mass, nonuniversity constituency, it was impractical. The "community-organizing projects" around the country were too few, and too inward-looking and parochial (or syndicalist), in their politics to provide a base for national organization. And the specific sectoral groups (e.g., New University Conference, Medical Committee for Human Rights) could not coalesce into any larger organizational form outside their immediate arenas of work. Further, the movement was in cultural chaos, trying to assimilate the insights of the black and women's insurgencies and to cope with its own violence.

In the last two years many of the best movement cadre have withdrawn from politics in despair. Those who remained (and avoided being destroyed by the "heavy" sectarian politics and life styles) hid themselves in the wings of the political stage among little grouplets of friends, or in small projects in the nooks and crannies of the society. Because tens of thousands had graduated from the universities, and from student politics, this was a substantial sociological phenomenon. (On this point, see Richard Flacks, "Revolt of the Young Intelligentsia," in *The New American Revolution*, edited by R. Aya and N. Miller.) That set of radicals is now in its mid-20s, beginning to marry, settle down, and enter into the work force on a

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permanent basis. The part of it that is politicized has had some real experience, as well as a painfully gained immunity to a few common forms of radical craziness.

Parallel to, although completely independent of, these inner changes in the life of the movement, a tremendous transformation has been taking place in the landscape of American political life. As a result of the war, the whole population began to feel less sanguine about the American way of life. Radical ideas began to penetrate into strata of the population (such as GIs) where they were previously unknown. And most important, even as the war began to "wind down" (at least as an emotional issue among young males), the economy began to show signs of serious and chronic difficulties.

As Nixon announced his New Economic Policy, a group of movement people around Mike Lerner and Chip Marshall of Seattle (formerly leaders of the Seattle Liberation Front, the only group except for the Chicago 7 to be indicted under the federal conspiracy statute) initiated a new Socialist organization, oriented toward working people. The Seattle group's call, which went through several versions before a Chicago planning meeting in early October, spoke unequivocally to the situation.

It put forth a nonsectarian Socialist analysis, stated that the economic ills of the country enabled the Left to approach the broad working class with the proposal of socialism—if it would do so through a *mass organizing program* that spoke to immediate needs and linked them to larger concerns. Moreover, it said that to do this, the New American Movement would have to break sharply with current New Left practice in two areas: sectarian styles of work, and organizational form and the question of responsible leadership.

Without attempting to recapitulate all the stages leading up to the Chicago meeting, it is enough to say that several circles of people, such as the one around Staughton Lynd in Chicago, were excited by the Seattle call. Lerner and Marshall traveled tirelessly, setting up chapters; the rest of us tried to convince friends and political associates that NAM was an idea whose time had come.

At Chicago, seventy persons, representing a dozen chapters across the country, planned the Davenport meeting. The decision to avoid sectarianism from the very start was reaffirmed and institutionalized. The Progressive Labor Party and the Young Socialist Alliance were excluded from the conference; any chapter "which comes to be dominated by a group whose conduct is inconsistent with the principles and programs of NAM, or with democratic norms of behavior within NAM," could have its charter revoked. Having seen what happened to SDS when groups with other objectives were allowed to participate as members, NAM resolutely rejected that permissiveness. It determined that a democratic organization would be possible only if membership were limited to those in general political agreement with its purposes.

And unlike SDS, the New American Movement defined those purposes—or guiding political principles—in some detail in its Six Points. They were deliberately drawn broadly enough not to push the group in any sectarian direction. The aim was to exclude the Left sects, without thereby moving onto their terrain of Talmudic (or Dissenting Sect) disputation. So we emphasized that: NAM is committed to a democratic socialism which is "defined as a society characterized by economic, racial, and sexual equality," where people enjoy substantive and procedural political rights; that a *class struggle*—to which working people will be central—is essential to achieve that goal and take power from the ruling class "which runs America for its own benefit." In this struggle "the liberation of women and non-white groups must be incorporated into every programmatic area."

FOLLOW-UP

In an early issue, *The Nation* will publish "Rebirth of the Radical Democrat" by Edward Schwartz, author of a forthcoming book of that title. Mr. Schwartz will examine the native American radical tradition and point to its contemporary relevance.

The Chicago meeting was run under Robert's Rules of Order, setting another precedent of style and form for the group. It explicitly rejected the notion, common in SDS, that democracy can best be approximated in a large and diverse group by the participatory styles appropriate to small groups. The meeting insisted on motions, even when a consensus was suspected. This formal procedure was maintained also at Davenport, and contributed immeasurably to the sense of calm and steady political and organizational progress that characterized the conference.

Finally, a series of structural decisions shaped the Davenport meeting. Chicago decided to elect an eight-member National Interim Committee (at least 50 per cent female), which would plan the Davenport meeting—whose purpose was to be restricted to adopting a *national priority program.*

The formal founding convention will not take place until the summer, when chapters will have had six months or more to digest the Davenport program. It was felt that this would make the founding convention a real event, based on a common political practice, and not simply a shared ideology.

Moreover, the Davenport conference was to be by invitation only; and invitations were extended only to chapters (or, since time was so short, to groups that showed clear intention of becoming chapters). Individual observers could come—if they could find someone to invite them—but they couldn't vote. And voting at Davenport was on a delegated basis; a chapter representative could cast as many as five votes for members of his chapter who were not present. The result was that at Davenport the vast bulk of the voting power was in the hands of delegates who had been chosen by real (albeit small) chapters. And the number of "floating" movement people was negligible. These decisions to have a structured and delegated program conference enabled the Davenport conference to achieve what it did.

The conference began its work on the basis of what had been done at Chicago, and built upon that foundation a large part of the structure for a new organizational home for a Socialist movement in the United States.

The Davenport program conference was welcomed by the female mayor-elect of the city—a peace and reform

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candidate of evident good will, but no radical. Instead of boos and hisses, the 350 assembled delegates applauded with more than politeness. From that symbolic beginning, it was clear that the conference was fated to be successful.

In the six weeks since Chicago, NAM had grown substantially, and almost thirty chapters were represented. The delegates (here I must rely on my impressions, since there are no statistics) were evidently older than the average for a movement conference—probably 26 instead of 21. They were more serious, politically more sophisticated. Many had had substantial organizing experience, going back several years. And even when the experience was limited, the attitude was different. There was no youth chauvinism: indeed for the first time in my experience in the movement, there was a real openness about the past and about the handful of older people present.

There were almost no blacks. NAM, although it projects itself as an interracial organization of working people, hasn't yet seriously dealt with the problem of how to accomplish it. The subject was scarcely discussed at Davenport, as if there were implicit agreement that the problem is too difficult to resolve incidentally. It will presumably be a major item of business at the founding convention.

It seemed to me that slightly less than half of those present were women, and that NAM only began to respond to the problem of sexual equality. In the short run at least, the prospects for the organization will depend considerably on how successfully it overcomes within its own ranks the cultural attitudes and habits of work which still influence the radical movement, much as they do the larger society.

On the structural and programmatic side, the group seems to be off to a good start in combatting sexual discrimination. It mandated that at least seven of the thirteen-member National Interim Committee be women (they are to have at least parity in all committees), and that a positive stand against the oppression of women be an *integral part* (not just tacked on as "women's demands") of all organizing programs.

The national priority program on the economy reflects this outlook. Not only are there statements on how day-care demands should be part of anti-corporate strategies but specific sections of the program deal with organizing women's caucuses in work-place situations, and with including discrimination against women in an overall campaign against AT&T.

The delegates present were less university-oriented than is the movement as a whole. Somewhat less than half were connected with a university in any way (as opposed to an overwhelming majority in most movement groups). And of these only about half were students. Throughout the meeting, speakers repeatedly emphasized that programs and organizing drives should be directed away from the university and into the society at large.

It was clear that this commitment was more than formal—people grappled with program proposals precisely in terms of how they would help alter the social composition of NAM toward an ever larger working-class proportion. Whether this can be carried out remains to be seen, but it seemed to me that the delegates understood that cultural changes would be necessary on both sides. The combination of mystification, arrogance and false humility toward "workers," so prominent in the movement over the past several years, has appreciably eroded.

The whole tone of discussion at Davenport was remarkably calm and sane. Wild and obviously impractical resolutions were not passed, even when people agreed with them in principle. The motto of the conference was common sense. For instance, the fifty-member economics workshop, which devised the national priority program on the economy, rejected a proposal by the International Socialists that NAM organize a news bureau, along the lines of Liberation News Service, for rank-and-file union papers around the country. It did so, not so much on ideological grounds (although some of us felt that the notion was sectarian and elitist) as because it would absorb too much of the meager resources, and that the staff would have more urgent calls on their time.

The delegates repeatedly demonstrated an acute sense of what was possible. The conference time itself was so distributed that a tremendous amount of business could be conducted, and people showed themselves willing to maintain a schedule of work that was uncomfortably pressing. The majority of those who came to Davenport seemed bent on making NAM a *real* organization.

Accordingly, an excellent program was passed. I think it the most lucid and practical program a national New Left group has yet devised. It provides a basis for mass organizing in the community, and even to some degree in places of employment, on issues that are vital and salient to the American people and around which mass organizing has already proved possible (every major aspect of the program has been tried, at least in a "pilot project," by some community-organizing group). It is a program designed to move large numbers of people into political opposition to the corporations and the government.

This national program (it is incumbent on every chapter to undertake at least one part of the program) deals with three areas: the economy, anti-corporate organizing, and war and imperialism. It includes strategic and tactical guidelines on how to pick targets and organize mass groups in the community to act against them.

The program on war and imperialism (NAM has not forgotten Vietnam) calls specifically for support of anti-war mobilizations and expresses NAM's solidarity with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. That should answer the question of whether NAM is just a group of Populist reformers disguised as radicals.

The program on anti-corporate organizing focuses on occupational health and safety. It sees these issues as extending beyond the work place into the community—and thus organically linking shop and community. This orientation provides an avenue for community groups to approach workers on the job. And (as the black lung movement indicates) it is potentially political dynamite. Health and safety are particularly relevant just now when it seems that if Nixon's New Economic Policy is to work, either domestically or internationally, a substantial increase in productivity will be essential. A deterioration of working conditions is thus in the cards. NAM has staked

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out a positive organizing program to begin to counter that thrust.

If speedup is the micro-component of America's new economic period, an "incomes policy" of wage and price controls is its macroscopic complement. NAM's economic program foresees strike support for unions and rank-and-file groups that try to exceed the limits clamped upon them, and describes how best to politicize strike support (without overstepping the role of an outside group).

And, perhaps most important, the program indicates how to determine key regional price targets (e.g., utility rate increases; utilities are 5 per cent of the average family budget) and to mass the community against them. NAM also puts forth the notion of people's councils on the economy, so as to set forth from the outset the goal of social, rather than private, control of the economy.

To carry out this program, the Davenport conference reaffirmed the chapter structure of the organization. It also set up a strong and relatively centralized National Interim Committee (NIC) to launch it. Among other duties, the NIC is instructed to turn out a newspaper and other literature, plan a summer convention, take charge of press relations with the outside world, provide technical assistance to scattered chapters (many of which are woefully inexperienced in mass organizing), send out competent regional travelers to stimulate the growth of new chapters, etc.

It is still not at all certain that the NIC will have the staff, money and political and technical skill to do all this. Nor is it certain that a substantial number of chapters will adjust readily to mass organizing, given their class composition, the political-cultural background from which they are coming, and their lack of experience. But many of us who have been around the movement for a long time are hopeful that they will.

Beyond the content of the resolutions passed, there are two reasons for this relative optimism. First, it was apparent that the kind of "leadership" the movement has had over the past several years will not prevail at NAM. In a sense, the most remarkable thing about the people at Davenport was who was absent. The "movement heavies" (not only the national ones but the local ones as well) were missing.

That type—noted for its demagogy, chauvinism in practice (although it tends to take very advanced public postures on the question of women), and concepts of political manipulation as an essential aspect of revolutionary politics—obviously felt that they would find Davenport uncongenial. They were right. (Of course once the hard work of making NAM a real force on the Left has been done, these folk will show up to help. It will be a real test of the organization's maturity to use these people without ever letting them have the kinds of power they seek.)

That is not to say that NAM solved the problem of leadership. The central ground of contention at the conference was whether the NIC would be given real powers or whether fear of politically irresponsible leadership would find traditional refuge in organizational decentralism. The pitfall of "ultra-democracy" was rejected after long and heated debate: almost two-thirds of the delegates concluded that NAM needed a coherent national structure in addition to a chapter basis, and that if powers were not formally delegated the result would be either no organization or a covert assumption of power.

In this debate the majority concurred with the article by Rich Rothstein, "Representative Democracy in SDS," published in 1970 in the New University Conference newsletter, which asserted that the organizational decay of SDS did not occur because—as is commonly believed—too much power was given to the national leadership, but rather that when representative machinery was abolished in the name of "participatory democracy," the way was opened for the Progressive Labor Party and the Revolutionary Youth Movement to dominate and destroy SDS.

Even after the decision was made to endow the NIC with real powers, a residual uneasiness showed itself in the election of committee members. The tendency was to vote for people who were low key and easygoing, even when that meant that more experienced candidates were passed over. Fear of bad leadership was overcome by choosing a leadership that clearly would not get out of control. The price has been to endanger NAM's survival: a national organization needs a tremendous concentration of political and technical skills.

NAM may fail because of weak leadership, but it is unlikely to fail because of adventurous, opportunistic or sectarian leadership. Nor will it fail because its leaders lack power to make the organization go. Only time will show whether the organization can develop and attract the kinds of leaders a Socialist organization requires, but there seems to be a realistic prospect for it. NAM is the first New Left group to appear in a long time of which that could be said.

The second reason for optimism is lodged in the outside world. America is entering a more advanced period of social crisis in the 1970s than it experienced in the 1960s. The ideological hegemony of the ruling class over the working people has been significantly reduced by a disastrous imperial war and internal dissent fomented at home by minority liberation movements and significant sectors of the students and young professionals. And the ability of the ruling class to "deliver the goods" is now in doubt. The New Economic Policy and the ever worsening "urban crisis" indicate that, for the first time since World War II, objective circumstances in America now favor a Socialist movement.

This reality has been grasped by that part of the cadre developed by the New Left in the 1960s who have remained politicized. Those who have not found political shelter in some sect or obscure niche want an arena of political struggle. Those elements of the cadre who want to engage in *mass organizing* among the working class and understand that to require intermediary organizational forms, and struggles for reforms which are not in themselves Socialist, must number in the tens of thousands.

The New American Movement, a Socialist group with a mass organizing perspective, speaks to that need among the best radicals of all ages and social descriptions in America. That is why it really does have an outside chance to help "put socialism on the political agenda" of the United States in the 1970s. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

This Was the Famous View

IN A FREE STATE. *By V. S. Naipaul. Alfred A. Knopf. 256 pp. $5.95.*

ALAN CHEUSE
Mr. Cheuse teaches literature at Bennington College.

Close to home and yet quite unknown to most North American readers, the burgeoning body of work by the Trinidadian V. S. Naipaul contains some of the finest writing, both fiction and nonfiction, in English today. In 1970, his remarkable study of the colonization of the Caribbean, *The Loss of El Dorado*, received good notices in *The New York Times Book Review* (by the prize-winning translator Gregory Rabassa), *The New Yorker* (in an admiring essay by John Updike) and in these pages as well. Yet Naipaul's general reputation in the United States remains, like the India described in his second volume of nonfiction, "an area of darkness." In fact, a reader picking a copy of *In a Free State* from the library shelf might well be convinced, because of the absence of the usual list of prior publications opposite the title page, that Naipaul's eleventh published book (and his eighth work of fiction) was his first.

In all the best ways, it is. *In a Free State* differs from Naipaul's previous offerings, his muted comedies of islanders and expatriates suffering under the Caribbean sun or beneath a London drizzle. It conducts readers to such undiscovered countries as Africa and Washington, D.C., and brings them back alive with the experience of two tales equal to any recently published either in England or the United States. Naipaul, as Kenneth Ramchand remarked in his recent book, *The West Indian Novel and its Background*, finds his subject not so much in individual characters as in the links by which characters are bound to their social setting. But, paradoxically, scenes of exile allow him to sharpen—even more than in his tales about his home territory—the contours of land and those of individual psychology. Naipaul's figures are the land's although the land is never theirs. That condition of modern man which Georg Lukacs described as "transcendental homelessness" leaps into view, with this new volume, as Naipaul's special preoccupation.

The opening paragraph of the novella from which the volume takes its title makes this clear:

> In this country in Africa, there was a president and there was also a king. They belonged to different tribes. The enmity of the tribes was old, and with independence their anxieties about one another became acute. . . . At last, this weekend, the president was able to send his army against the king's people.

On that timeless weekend, a homosexual named Bobby who is employed in the civil service of the king's provincial government, and Linda, the wife of one of his colleagues, set off on a 400-mile automobile trip. They drive from the president's capital city (where whites and blacks, all uprooted and "far from home," try to love one another without much success) to the king's capital, where the British compound offers security and rest.

Bobby and Linda begin their voyage innocent of the dangers that await them. It is not long, though, before the landscape opens up in front of them, revealing a moral as well as a geological vista:

> This was the famous view. This was the openness the sky had been promising. The land dropped and dropped. The continent here was gigantically flawed.

The pair of travelers become inextricably bound to the scene around them. Light stings their eyes. Gathering storm clouds fill them with dread, and the ambiguity of the physical setting at first seems to reflect their own awareness of the world. "Like England," Linda remarks as they pass through vast green parkland. "Or Africa," Bobby replies. It is Africa, of course, but the Africa "of a fairy-tale, far from home. . . ." Or an Africa like Prospero's magical Bermuda where physical dramas seem coterminous with the dramas of the mind. It is almost as if, by a strange inversion, the continent of Africa had imagined these characters, rather than the characters imputing life to the land.

A military helicopter, an armored version of the Eumenides, flutters above them as they begin their travels. After lunch, they pick up two African hitchhikers who appear so sinister that the Anglo-Saxons fear murder. They make a night's stopover in a deserted colonial watering place where packs of wild guard dogs menace them, and a colonel, the pith of colonialism, plays out a grisly farce with his otherworldly black staff. At times the road itself, usually "as straight as a Roman road," menaces them by turning to rubble or nearly drowning them in muck.

Yet few hazards prove as great as their own uncertainty about their identities, their presences in Africa, their tentativeness with regard to each other, and their ties to husbands, lovers, friends, servants and bosses. For example, Bobby becomes obsessed with Linda's promiscuity, her implicit racism and imperial haughtiness, all qualities which appear to be reflections of similar aspects of his own personality. When he succumbs to the pressures of the trip, he denounces her with a directness he could never have mustered for self-investigation. He shouts at her:

> There are millions like you, millions, and there will be millions more. . . . I don't know why you think it matters what you think about anything. . . . You are nothing.

Linda has appeared quite helpless up until this point. Yet she responds by leaving the car and making her way to a nearby village on her own. Bobby cannot bear the solitude and chases after her.

In scenes such as these, Naipaul loosens the strictures of human behavior in order to judge men and test their laws. Like figures in a lunar landscape, his characters leap farther but breathe less easily than on native ground. Africans, as well as ex-colonials, are tried against this backdrop. "I give you cigarette, boy," says one of the soldiers who halts Bobby's car at an impromptu roadblock. Then he demonstrates his freedom by punching the white man in the face. Naipaul's continent, gigantically flawed, becomes a metaphor for the human condition.

In the second longest story in this collection, Naipaul succeeds once again in turning the natural landscape into symbolic turf. A domestic servant from Bombay tells, in "One out of Many," how he traveled to Washington, D.C., the "capital of the world," only to desert his boss for the trials of District hippy life, the restaurant business, the love of a *hubshi* (black) woman, and the illusion of the discovery of his soul. (The third story is set in London, and is not as successful as the longer two.)

How did Naipaul learn about physical and psychic disinheritance? What com-

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pels him to depict these things with so much care? The answers may be found in the excerpts from the travel journals offered as prologue and epilogue to the stories. His narrative "I" reveals him to be in as much a state of flux as the characters in the fictions. Traveling by freighter from Piraeus to Alexandria, he witnesses the humiliation of a pathetic tramp, a Dionysian-like imago of the Novelist, but does nothing to help him. In Egypt, although he halts for a moment the petty torture of starving desert waifs, he still finds himself standing on shifting ground.

Perhaps, Naipaul muses in his tourist persona, the ancient artist who created the still, quiet, and immanent paintings of the Nile, "knowing no other land, had learned to look at his own and had seen it as complete." But as for himself and his fellow wanderers (Europeans, Egyptians, a troupe of Chinese circus performers), his fellow Americans from North and South, his readers, his *semblables*, the trek toward wholeness, toward home, is an endless voyage, the voyage of the perpetual emigrant soul of 20th-century man which nourishes in itself, as Hermann Broch wrote in *The Sleepwalkers*, "the hope of expanding and opening itself to receive that other who emerges free as air from the light haze and enters into him, that other whom he rightly recognizes as a potential, unborn immortal." These disquieting images Naipaul sends back to us from the new free states of consciousness he has toured. □

RULES

Let the roads
quietly die.

Let the birds
cracking through the firs
find room for their wings.

Terry Stokes

A Public Servant Worth His Hire

KEFAUVER: A Political Biography. *By Joseph Bruce Gorman. Oxford University Press. 434 pp. $10.*

ERNEST GRUENING
Mr. Gruening is an editorial associate of The Nation.

"The most authentic—and most successful—maverick in American history." So his biographer, the historian Joseph Bruce Gorman, characterizes the tall Tennessean. The unique quality of his public service derived from his courage, his adherence to his convictions and his unswerving pursuit of purposes which he considered to be in the public interest. These qualities cost him the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1952, despite his having carried all but one of the Presidential primaries, for he had by his independence antagonized the political power brokers—and indeed alienated many of his fellow Senators. This defeat (repeated in 1956, though he secured the Vice Presidential nomination as a consolation prize) was politically inconsequential, for he would have lost to Eisenhower as Stevenson did in both contests. However, it permits the historical appraisal to focus exclusively on Kefauver's Congressional career. Its salient aspects were: his emancipation from his state's racism (he alone declined in 1956 to sign the "Southern Manifesto" sponsored by nineteen Dixie Senators, pledging resistance to racial integration); his consistent opposition to monopoly; his championing of the consumer interest; his rejection of the anti-Communist hysteria in the heyday of McCarthyism; and his support of the freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights. Kefauver cast the sole vote in opposition to outlawing the Communist Party. Eighty-one Senators voted for it.

That Kefauver survived politically despite these deviations from accepted practice in his state was due in large part to the personal character of his campaigning and the first-hand contact it gave him with his fellow citizens which helped him gain their confidence. No doubt, too, his battling against bossism —exemplified most flagrantly in Tennessee by the long entrenched Crump-McKellar machine which he finally bested —and his all-out support of TVA against the private utilities' machinations strengthened the faith of plain people in his willingness to take on the most powerful opponents for the sake of their interests. Nevertheless, his repeated confuting of journalistic and other forecasters of his downfall, his unforeseen landslide election victories, constitute, as Gorman points out, "one of the great enigmas of American politics." Consistently an underdog in his electoral battles, he habitually capped them with stunning upsets.

As Congressman and Senator, Kefauver made extensive and successful use of the hearings process. As chairman of subcommittees of the Senate Judiciary Committee, he was able in the late 1940s to expose organized crime in America and its alliance with public officials, a service which alienated the party machinery and was a factor in thwarting his Presidential aspirations. He used the extended hearings of his Monopoly and Antitrust Subcommittee to reveal the abuses of the drug industry and to curb the powerful drug lobby and its Senatorial abettors as well as lukewarm administration forces. Those hearings culminated in the enactment of the Kefauver-Harris Drug Act, which provided previously lacking safeguards but fell short of his hopes for lowering drug prices—a still unfulfilled prospect.

One of Kefauver's characteristics was his fairness to his opponents and the mildness of manner with which he pursued his objectives, a style which concealed his quiet determination. He seldom lost his temper. He was not an orator, and his speeches, while full of relevant facts, were delivered in a monotone.

I was with him on the Senate floor in the closing battle of his career. Some fifteen of us had earlier opposed the Kennedy program for a space satellite to be operated for private profit. We felt that the first national venture

I WON'T EXPLAIN

The car is not big enough to be a home,
so, I took off the wheels, nosed & decked
it, painted it panther black, I won't
explain. I filled it full of water,
& I gave the water plenty of large pink salmon,
I put the windshield wipers on, & planted
the whole thing in the snow. At night,
the interior lights hot, the children
circle, saying small prayers, as if
they were speaking to their lovely, but
lost, mother.

Terry Stokes

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into space communication should be owned and controlled by the government, which had already expended billions of taxpayers' dollars, instead of designating one or another corporation as the beneficiary. Having lost that battle a year before, we were now debating the legislation itself and trying to diminish the cruder giveaways—including a $45 million grant to A.T.&T. which was not to be repayable from profits—and seeking to provide that others besides the chosen vessel could benefit from the inventions achieved by federally paid research. Our amendments, however, were tabled after cloture was imposed.

Late in the afternoon of August 8, 1963, Kefauver complained of not feeling well and said he would go to the Senate gym to rest. From there he went to Bethesda Naval Hospital, where his illness was diagnosed as aortic aneurism, requiring surgery to control the ballooning aorta. The operation in question was a major one, but the prognosis was favorable. However, it was scheduled not for the next day but for Saturday. In the early hours of that day, the aneurism burst. Kefauver's unexpected death was a terrible shock to a legion of devoted followers and an irreparable loss to the nation.

Mr. Gorman has written an excellent biography, thoroughly documented, sprightly in style, objective, and not inclined to minimize Kefauver's defects and occasional lapses from grace. All in all, a fair portrait of one of our truly great public servants. My own view is that among the outstanding Senators of the 20th century, he was surpassed only by George Norris. □

Nature & the Animal Determinists

THE IMPERIAL ANIMAL. *By Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 308 pp. $6.95.*

IN THE SHADOW OF MAN. *By Jane van Lawick-Goodall. Houghton Mifflin Co. 297 pp. $10.*

ELIZABETH FISHER

Elizabeth Fisher is the editor of Aphra, The Feminist Literary Magazine, *and she is now at work on a book about the materialization of sex.*

In the 19th century the Social Darwinists appealed to natural selection and the survival of the fittest to justify exploitative capitalism and imperialism. In the 20th we have the animal determinists, who talk of hierarchy, dominance-submission, and aggression as a kind of indirect justification of the military-corporate state and its more sophisticated program for controlling the world. Just as Social Darwinism had its ideological center in Britain during that nation's heyday, so its heirs attract their greatest audience in the United States today.

Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox are two young social anthropologists who, as they tell us, have ventured into "zoology, biology, history, and genetics" to write a book which purports to chart the possibilities of human behavior in 300 pages. In their rigid plan all power relations are seen as biological—strong dominates weak, male dominates female—and the baboon is the model for all human societies. Citing Noam Chomsky's work in linguistics, they claim that one can make a "biogrammar" for behavior based on an analysis of the components of our primate inheritance.

The premise is dubious: an approach to the whole spectrum of behavior in terms of systems developed to explain one small facet—language—a subject, moreover, that has been charted and studied for centuries and which by its very nature lends itself to verbal analysis. In any case, Chomsky says there are an infinite number of possible languages, and language is flexible, creative and ever changing. So, on a far grander scale, is behavior in general. Tiger and Fox distort and take out of context in the same way the work of many other authorities they cite—Engels, Marx, Levi-Strauss, et al. Though they give lip service to evolution, the reader is struck by the authors' imperviousness to the fact of change. Natural selection operates in a much looser fashion than Darwin envisioned. The environment often allows for a certain inefficiency. Random genetic drift also influences physical characteristics, adding to the enormous variations of behavior and adaptation in all species. In humans this variety has been facilitated, because once the brain took over, cultural adaptation allowed us to outwit inauspicious environments. Tiger and Fox never mention random genetic drift, and they seem to feel that our physical, not to say behavioral, evolution was arrested during the millions of years when, it is presumed, we were living on the African savannas. They forget that even a few generations can change characteristics like height, skin color, age of menarche, etc.

In the first half of the book, the authors try to relate major human patterns to those of other primates. However, they ignore most of the recent studies—about fifteen species have now been observed in the wild and there is wide variation, not only between but within species—to focus on the noisy and aggressive baboon, with an occasional reference to the macaque. Though the baboon is a favorite of the neo-Darwinists, the analogy with human beings is farfetched. Baboons are four-footed, old-world monkeys with tails. Their family parted company with the family of humans, chimpanzees and gorillas 30 million to 40 million years ago. The last two stayed with us some 20 million to 36 million more years—new blood tests indicate that chimpanzees, gorillas and humans diverged as recently as 4 million years ago. Chimpanzees, in particular, have many gestures and syndromes in common with humans, including meat-eating, incipient food-sharing and hunting, and brains larger than those of other primates, though smaller than those of humans. Baboons differ from us further in that they have sharp physical differentiation between the sexes; the male is twice as large as the female and has large, protruding canine teeth which are lacking in the female. Almost the only point of comparison is that baboons, like human beings, are largely ground-living though four out of five baboon species sleep in trees. However, the patas monkey is even more terrestrial than the baboon, and though the patas male is twice the size of the female, he is less aggressive than she is and shows no signs of dominance. Vervets are other land-living monkeys who are neither aggressive nor hierarchical and who do not have marked physical differences between the sexes. Some 30-odd page references to baboons appear in the index, with only four dedicated to the chimpanzee, while there is no mention of the patas or the vervet. Since the sources from which I drew my information are all listed in the very full bibliography, one must conclude that either the authors have never read much of the material they cite or that they are willfully disregarding it.

The anti-democratic and male-aggrandizing tone of the book rather supports the latter conclusion. Recent studies of foraging people—more or less Stone Age groups surviving today—have shown that 65 to 80 per cent of their food is vegetable and is customarily gathered by women, with the remaining 20 to 35 per cent being supplied by hunting. Tiger and Fox, however, still hew to the old theories about hunting as the clue to human evolution and devote many pages to its glorification; they speak of men

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becoming "fine-honed hunting machines designed for the efficient pursuit of game," with cursory and contemptuous mention of food-gathering by women. Actually, modern studies indicate that there was group hunting in which women often participated; there were fire drives and pitfalls, scavenging and preying on immature animals—anything but efficiency and anything but the glamour with which men have been inclined to invest hunting, war and conquest. The authors claim that "the first tools on earth were butchering tools." Nobody knows what purpose the early flake and pebble tools served—probably hammering, bashing and chopping. Later tools were all-purpose instruments for sharpening digging sticks, cutting flesh, scraping skins, and pounding seeds or roots. Nor do we know what the first tool was. Archaeologists have begun to realize that they had based all their theories on stones and bones which survived, though the first tools were likely to have been prepared sticks—similar to those used by chimpanzees for taking termites—which would not show up in the archaeological record. In the same way, animal bones endure, giving a distorted picture of "man the hunter," while vegetable material leaves no trace.

Jane van Lawick-Goodall's *In the Shadow of Man* is the second book for the general public by the woman whose chimpanzee studies revolutionized scientists' thinking about primate and early human organization. She is modest, unpretentious and sensitive to nature, where Tiger and Fox are presumptuous and mechanical. They use jargon words—programmed, wired, bonded, biogram—while she writes accessible English. She is aware of beauty: they mention aesthetics only once, comparing the music of a symphony orchestra to a group hunt—Orpheus, where art thou? She discusses the individual differences among the chimpanzees with whom she has lived for the past ten years; they fit human beings into classes and ascribe the positions of Rockefellers, Kennedys and Roosevelts to the existence of natural aristocracy rather than to the power of money. She emphasizes the gap between chimpanzees and human beings, besides commenting on the similarities. Where Goodall sees and reports on a natural world, Tiger and Fox refer to the rules of biology, the cold eye of nature, forgetting that these rules have been formulated by human beings trying to understand how we fit into a greater whole: we are not so much subject to nature as a part of it. They compare us with computers and insist we must obey the system; Goodall's sense of wonder and respect for life in animals and human beings prevents her from exalting the system above the observations it is supposed to explain.

In 1960 the anthropologist Louis Leakey encouraged the 26-year-old Jane Goodall to go into the forest alone, in part because she had no academic background and he felt that she would have a freer mind. It was during the early sixties that she made her great discoveries about tool use, meat eating, open groups and free sex among the chimpanzees. (Tiger and Fox are disingenuous in saying that when chimpanzees mate "the order of copulation may be determined by dominance"; Goodall is quite specific in saying there was "no observable order of dominance" to their promiscuous mating.) Since then she has entered the academic world, and funds for her Gombe Stream center are now supplied by Stanford University. Her early work was revolutionary also because it reported "few dominance interactions" among chimpanzees in the wild, as well as shifting relationships and lack of hierarchy, findings supported by other observers. In this book there is increasing emphasis on charting dominance relationships among the chimpanzees, relationships which may have been brought about by the banana-feeding stations she set up. I am not convinced that there is a clear case for sharp dominance hierarchies among chimpanzees, and possibly among many other animals for whom they are claimed—though even if there were they need not apply to human beings. That they exist among academics I have no doubt: one feels that no woman can advance in those circles without making certain ritual submission gestures. □

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'Be a Man Who Praises'

THE DOOR STANDING OPEN. *By Robert Mezey. Houghton Mifflin Co. 87 pp. $4. Paper $1.95.*

PAUL ZWEIG

Mr. Zweig's most recent book of poems is Against Emptiness (*Harper & Row*).

Robert Mezey's new book contains a selection of poems from his earlier work, some of it dating back to the mid-1950s when Mezey was still a student, along with a number of translations from the Hebrew of Uri Zvi Greenberg. The final and most ample section of the book is devoted to recent poems, most of which were published in a small volume by Kayak Press a year or so ago.

It is interesting to follow Mezey's struggle to free himself from the closed rhetoric of the early poems, until he emerges in the final section as a mature and powerfully evocative poet. The new Mezey poems express a mystery of whole emotions. They brim with the anger and tenderness of a man whose psyche has plunged to a level of raw knowledge. His language in these poems is taut with simplicity, as if some wise survivor were speaking only the words he needed to say. There is a struggle of compassion in the new poems, a need for words to mirror the breathtaking suddenness of a man's plunge into vision, as in the following lines from "New Year's Eve in Solitude":

Night comes to the man who can pray
only on paper.
He disappears into paper
with his old mouth shaped to say no
and his voice is so tiny
in all these miles of silence and cold
grass.

As I write
the fog has eaten away the mountains
the princely hills and the fields
everything but this house
and this hand
and the few feet of light it throws out
against the dark.

The strength of poems like these lies in their willingness to advance wholeheartedly into an emotion, not holding back, and not giving in, even to the loneliness which the lines express. The poem speaks of death and helplessness, but it is not a helpless poem. It contains a bravery of self-acceptance, a willingness to embrace and praise even failure and weariness of spirit. Mezey has absorbed the mean-

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ing of Rilke's profound advice to the poet: be a man who praises. Praise even what is deadly, embrace and love even your own pain and death. If you do this, your tenderness toward all of existence will endure.

Even in the early poems one feels Mezey's concern with the small sufferings of life. But his language then was not able to cope with such emotions. It relied too often on a formal, semi-narrative logic which blurred the feeling of the lines with overlays of detail and conventional imagery. These poems have been substantially revised as they appear in *The Door Standing Open*, but the result is still only half-achieved, and I cannot help but wish that the energy of rewriting had been spent instead in giving us more of the harrowing, beautiful poetry which makes the final section of this book so moving.

The deepening of Mezey's style begins, I think, with his translations of Uri Zvi Greenberg. In an explanatory note, Mezey writes, "I have included the Greenberg poems because they are in some way closer to me than most of my own poems, and because they embody the swiftness and simplicity I aim for." Greenberg's poems are in the profoundest sense complaints. They express the poet's crushing awareness of God, and the fragility of his life which shrinks to nothing in the face of God's darkness and power. The grief and poignancy of these poems create that urgency in which only the most necessary words remain:

I am pleased to carry myself from sorrow to sorrow,
As the shepherd his littlest sheep from pasture to pasture,
And he eats a few figs, to keep the breath in his body—

I speak of what feeds down there in the mire!
There is nothing in books, only a few words.

This is the simplicity which Mezey makes his own in the later poems. It is the simplicity of what needs to be said; images which do not arrest the eye, but guide it forward with the haste of intelligent passions. What in Mezey's earlier poetry appears as mere language, has become arrowlike, hugging the shape of the experience with sparse, spoken rhythms, as in "At the Point":

The light is so simple
and steady,
as if tiny beaks
had opened a vein of pure sunlight in the forest,
and the fathers and mothers
stand looking down,
their lives
jumping at the base of their throats
and little words
unspoken for twenty or thirty years
cling to their lips like droplets of water.

With *The Door Standing Open*, Robert Mezey announces himself as a growing and important poet. His strong natural imagery, the power of compassion which his poems express, create a memorable voice. These are poems that teach, and it is good to learn what they say. □

Manual for Guests of the State

GOING TO JAIL: The Political Prisoner. *By Howard Levy, M.D., and David Miller. Grove Press. 243 pp. $6.*

ROBERT CASSIDY
Mr. Cassidy is a free-lance writer who lives in Gainesville, Va.

It is too bad that this book was not written ten years ago. The hundreds of young men (and some women) who have spent time in federal prisons because of "political crimes" during that period could have benefited greatly from it. For the authors have created a handbook for the political prisoner doing time for various crimes against the state: refusal of induction, failure to obey orders in the military, destruction of draft files, and so on. In a sober, analytical tone, the authors describe prison life from A & O ("admission and orientation") to "short time" (the anxious period just before release). In between, they offer practical advice about the daily routine behind bars and in the minimum security farm camps outside the walls.

Practical advice: How to avoid being gang-raped at once (act tough, even if you're scared to death). Or how much—actually, how little—work to do. And what to expect from prison authorities (deceit, laced with ignorance). How to avoid being converted by the Jehovah's Witnesses. The sixties could have used a book like this; with Mitchell at Nixon's side though, and conspiracy trials in process, it will be a useful tool for the seventies as well.

Ten years ago Dr. Howard Levy was learning about psoriasis at a hospital in New York City, and David Miller was studying at a Jesuit college upstate. What brought them together at Lewisburg Farm Camp years later was their opposition to the war in Vietnam. Levy had been sentenced for refusing to train Green Berets, Miller for burning his draft card.

Do not expect the controlled outrage of a Cleaver or a George Jackson from this book, nor the sentimentality that marks the genre. If the authors have a fault of that kind, it is their annoying tendency to look over their shoulders at the radical community, fearful about its possible reactions; they try to cover themselves with a measure of revolutionary rhetoric. For example, they exonerate drug dealers by saying that "pushers are merely employing the techniques of capitalism in order to earn enough money to feed their own habits and stomachs."

If the book has a model, it is *An Eye for An Eye* (Holt, Rinehart & Winston), written by four inmates at Indiana State Prison. Like that book, *Going to Jail* treats many aspects of prison life on a chapter-by-chapter basis, but it is much more limited—and, unfortunately, less lively—in its use of anecdote. (However, a number of Miller's experiences are moving, humorous, and—most important—instructive.)

Perhaps the most valuable aspect of the book is the authors' analysis of the so-called enlightened federal penal system, with its "progressive" methods and "professional" approach. "What has happened," they write, "is that physical tools have been replaced by psychological

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tools. . . . Parole, good time, halfway houses, farm camps, etc., have simply nudged physical force into the dark corners and recesses of the prison system." To combat these more sophisticated but equally tyrannical methods, the authors propose a three-point program for action, plus a list of demands. The program is not particularly radical: better legal services for prisoners; establishing "service centers" near prisons, where families of inmates may find comfort, share information and encourage one another; and "highly visible mass demonstrations" outside prisons. Of these, probably the most promising is better legal services. Recently, for example, the civil rights lawyer Philip Hirschkop was able to win several of the demands on the Levy-Miller list (including certain due process rights and access to counsel) for inmates of a Virginia state prison. But some of the authors' demands—for conjugal visits, visiting furloughs, inmate councils—though most desirable, seem very far away. A nation that can ignore a holocaust like Attica is not likely to accord the decencies of life to men in prison.

Going to Jail suggests that another book about prisoners is at least partially wrong. I am thinking of *In the Service of Their Country: War Resisters in Prison* (The Viking Press) by Willard Gaylin, M.D. One of Dr. Gaylin's conclusions was that most of the young war resisters were too disoriented by their prison experience to be useful in the movement once they were back on the street. But Dr. Levy is active with a radical health research group, Health-Pac, and with the U.S. Servicemen's Fund. David Miller is working with a prison group in Washington, D.C., and writing a more intimate memoir of his jail experience. Perhaps their new book will help other war resisters to do their time unshattered, and come out ready for further service. □

The Moment the Shutter Snaps

ONE TIME, ONE PLACE. *By Eudora Welty. Random House. 113 pp. $7.95.*

PAUL MARX
Mr. Marx is associate professor of English at the University of New Haven.

When Eudora Welty left the Columbia Graduate School of Business in 1931 and returned home to Mississippi, she was lucky enough to be taken on by the WPA to travel the state and write publicity releases about the many works projects being undertaken. Miss Welty wrote the releases, but the projects were not of much interest to her. Up and down Mississippi's eighty-two counties she was discovering people, in their infinite variety. And she was constantly being surprised: no external fact provided a true clue to what a person really was.

She began to carry a camera with her. And she learned to wait, to hover, to be ready in that moment when people reveal themselves. She took several hundred snapshots, ninety-eight of which are presented in this beautiful book, which also includes a fascinating essay in which, as she talks about her pictures, Miss Welty sheds a great deal of light on the art of her fiction.

Eudora Welty's greatest successes in fiction are with her lyrical short stories. These are the stories in which she hovers and waits, until suddenly through gesture or remark, the life of a character opens up and his innermost longings and fears are exposed. Miss Welty disclaims the idea that the pictures in *One Time, One Place*, which are mostly of blacks, represent a social document. The pictures do seem to show that Mississippi black society in the 1930s—rural and small-town black America—had a wholeness and cohesiveness that has since been lost. The pictures do seem to show a kind of contentment amidst stark poverty. But for Miss Welty the pictures do not tell the story of blacks in Mississippi during the depression.

Her one time and one place is that of the individual subject at the moment the shutter snapped. She will not make generalizations. She has no interest in proving or disproving anything. "Whatever you might think of those lives as symbols of a bad time, the human beings who were living them thought a good deal more of them than that."

Miss Welty took her pictures in an atmosphere free of condescension. More than by the vanished years, she says, her pictures of blacks are dated now by the trust that is so plain to see in her subjects. That trust depends on the absence of any desire on the part of the observer to impose her will. In her early 20s, Miss Welty already knew that, appearances to the contrary, inner lives are elusive and keep on turning, separating, merging, taking unexpected twists. And so, as she moved on to the writing of stories, it was with a heightened sense of the mystery of each life she created: "My wish, indeed my continuing passion, would be not to point the finger in judgment but to part a curtain, that invisible shadow that falls between people, the veil of indifference to each other's presence, each other's wonder, each other's plight."

As a short-story writer Miss Welty generally has been served well by this creed. However, in those stories that involve more than one main character, and in her novels, her self-effacement at times has been the cause of failure. This is most apparent in Miss Welty's most ambitious work, *Losing Battles*. The members of four generations come together for the birthday of the 90-year-old great-great-grandmother. They are together for a day and a half, and talk and talk and talk—in dialect. Miss Welty will only part the curtain; thus throughout a long novel the reader must listen very intently. For in the midst of all the trivia of family reminiscences, sooner or later there will be a revealing moment that will alter his perception of the characters. But a reader's desire to penetrate the mysteries of fictional characters has its limits. In her commitment to her technique and in her respect for her characters Miss Welty can defy those limits.

Such belief in the sanctity of characters, with the attendant refusal to pass judgment, raises the question of whether a novel is the appropriate medium for a story that requires exposition as intricate and as diffuse as that of *Losing Battles*. If a number of lives are portrayed at some length in a novel, one expects to have a more direct view of those lives than is afforded by the conversational hints supplied by other characters. Miss Welty's best novel remains *Delta Wedding*. Here too we have a family occasion, but rather than setting up recording equipment and cameras the novelist enters the consciousness of her characters and relates their thoughts and feelings.

At one point in *Delta Wedding*, the enigmatic George is described as "the one person . . . who did not have it in him to make of any act a facile thing or to make a travesty out of human beings." George let the world be what he found it—real, bad, fleeting, yet hopelessly alluring. For Miss Welty, the photographer and short-story writer, the unwillingness to intrude that is reflected in that description has often produced special renderings of special moments that make us think we know something about the means with which a person meets this fleeting, alluring world. But when the technique is employed in *Losing Battles*, the faithfulness is to the technique rather than to the people. □

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Evolution of Manunkind

THE DAWN WARRIORS: Man's Evolution Toward Peace. *By Robert Bigelow. Atlantic Monthly Press. 277 pp. $6.95.*

BERTRAM G. MURRAY, Jr.
Mr. Murray is assistant professor of zoology at Rutgers University.

Robert Bigelow lives in New Zealand. He is a grasshopper taxonomist. Perhaps these are the reasons why his important book on human evolution is unadvertised and unreviewed. That is too bad because his book deserves a wide audience.

Mankind is faced with overpopulation, pollution, racism, nuclear war, famine—perhaps to the point of extinction. These are biological problems, and if solutions for survival are to be found, we must come to accept our animal origins and to understand our evolutionary history. It is not possible for sociologists, psychologists and anthropologists to provide answers outside of a biological context. Nor can biologists (and playwrights) provide answers by simply comparing man with other animals and ignoring his unique evolutionary history, biological and cultural. Bigelow takes a broad view, making "forays into the sacred precincts of anthropology, archaeology, sociology, psychology, history, philosophy, and theology," and integrating these into a biological context.

Bigelow's analysis provides some interesting insights. Perhaps the most important is that man is not only the most aggressive animal on earth but the most cooperative. He opens his book with this paradox:

> A hydrogen bomb is an example of mankind's enormous capacity for friendly cooperation. Its construction requires an intricate network of human teams, all working with single-minded devotion toward a common goal. Let us pause and savor the glow of self-congratulation we deserve for belonging to such an intelligent and sociable species. Without this high level of cooperation no hydrogen bomb could be built. But without an equally high potential for ferocity, no hydrogen bomb ever *would* be built. Perhaps our cooperation has something to do with our ferocity.

The relationship between cooperation and aggression is Bigelow's subject. He suggests that during the course of human history there have always been groups of men with resources sufficient for survival (the haves) and others not so favored (the have-nots). The inevitable conflict between haves and have-nots for control of resources more often than not would be won by the more cooperative, better organized group. Thus natural selection increases cooperation within groups rather than aggression between groups. The latter is a consequence of the unequal distribution of resources. Increasing cooperation leads to ever larger groups—from family or tribe to city-state, to nation-state, to international alliances—as weaker groups band together and increase their power with respect to a stronger neighbor. It is important to bear in mind that Bigelow is presenting a biological argument that is consistent with the theory of natural selection. He points out further that as groups enlarged and their conflicts became more ferocious, periods of relative peace prevailed for longer periods over greater areas than ever before.

Bigelow develops an interesting theory regarding the evolution of the human brain. One prevalent notion is that man's brain could not have evolved by natural selection because it seems capable of functions beyond those that clearly have survival value, e.g., the ability to compose beautiful music and conceive abstract mathematical systems. Bigelow argues that if groups with larger brains have greater intelligence, if greater intelligence increases the ability to cooperate, and if greater cooperation increases the chances of survival in conflicts between groups, then natural selection should result in larger brains and greater intelligence. Moreover, the idea that structures are able to perform functions for which they have not been selected is not a new one in evolutionary theory. The pertinence of the argument lies in such further questions as this: is the human brain *now* sufficiently developed to enable man to resolve those problems that many see as threatening his survival today? There seems to be room for doubt on that point—hence the significance of the question.

The problem is that with the evolution of the ability to reason, to balance the advantages and disadvantages of particular actions, man acquired the ability to be irrational: "No other animals could fabricate such an amazing fantasia of fairy tales as those that have flitted from human brain to human brain." Such fairy tales, for example, as those that impede progress toward equality of opportunity for all members of society, improvement of environmental quality, and international cooperation to end the threat of war.

Along the way, Bigelow challenges several scientific myths. He rejects the nature-nurture debate, still going on in the scientific and popular literature. He does not recognize a distinction between biological evolution and cultural evolution. As a good scientist should, Bigelow presents a new and better synthesis. His homely style, his humorous analogies, and his disclaimers mask a major intellectual achievement. Bigelow not only provides us with an easily digested lesson in evolutionary theory but leaves us with new insight into man's most lethal patterns of behavior. □

ART / Lawrence Alloway

A few days before the Barnett Newman retrospective closed, the publications department of the Museum of Modern Art managed to get the catalog out, a handsome book by Thomas B. Hess. It is the second monograph on Newman that Hess has written in three years and it is simultaneously the same and different. Both books are linked by Hess's preoccupation with Newman as a Jew: in the first text this was often in the form of genre scenes picked out of family history and biography; in the new book it is cultural, with bits of the Kabbala proposed as secret keys to Newman's art. Hess burrows behind the huge glowing planes of color in search of an intricacy that he misses in what is up front. It is as if he assumed that a work of art must include a fixed amount of things going on in it. If a picture does not measure up to his expectations, he finds places in it where the required level of activity can be asserted to be going on. Decipherment becomes the act of filling up a painting to insure that it is sufficiently busy and rich.

Hess writes in opposition to the formalistic view, such as that of Clement Greenberg in 1955, in which the paintings are considered as steps in history-bound problem solving. Harold Rosenberg in *The New Yorker* (January 1, 1972) is also anti-formalistic; however, his solution is not to load Newman's work with meaning but to deny it any. "In its multiple inward shifts, Newman's art must remain partly inaccessible. It belongs to a one-man culture." This is a replay of Rosenberg's notion that a work of art is only the

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residue of an act, done once and forever unshareable. This desolate view of the art object was based on an image of lonely decision-making ("Action Painting"), but here it is stretched to include a man's ideas, forever locked up in his head. Rosenberg criticizes Hess for linking the books in Newman's library with the paintings that were done in the studio, because "his readings provided not an organized outlook but a kind of metaphysical hum that surrounded his mental operations."

Having rejected the formal appreciation of color and composition and dismissed the mania for iconography, Rosenberg is left in alienated command of isolated works, tokens of Newman, maybe, but not really transmissions from him. At least Hess is considering Newman's art as something intended; although he does not convince me by his reading, it is still in the realm of verifiable discourse. What Rosenberg says, on the other hand, is either true of all art or of none, and there is no particular reason to make Newman the occasion for the assertion. Rosenberg incidentally describes "The Stations of the Cross" at the Museum of Modern Art as "fourteen striped white paintings." As the canvases are not white, the description suggests a certain nonchalance about the physical reality of paintings. Perhaps that is why Rosenberg expects so little of them.

Given an art as abstract and as sparing in its formal elements as Newman's, what are the possibilities of meaning? If his art is regarded as being without meaning, you can either enjoy it formally or reject it as "empty"; if it is presumed to possess meaning, you can supply compensatory readings against a sense of emptiness (which is what Hess does essentially) or try not to separate the form from a possible reading. Years ago Newman was involved in a minor controversy about something called "Buckeye painting," a term by which he referred to saloon art—tavern nudes and restaurant pastorals. What was wrong with such paintings, he told me, was the artists' failure to conceive of the picture as a whole; the values were uncoordinated, with "sixty-five different directions of light." His own art, on the contrary, was oriented toward the highest unity, and it is in relation to this fact that we ought to look for meaning. The course of Newman's development is significant here: early on he used ideographs in his pictures (symbols or characters painted, written, or inscribed, representing ideas); in 1948 he identified the total area of the painting with the ideograph. The picture contained no separable forms; it was unitary and the organization fused formal and symbolic values.

Hess makes very little use of it, given his thesis, but among Newman's writings is an article which supports the idea of holistic form as the vehicle of meaning. Written in 1948, "The Sublime Is Now" takes the 18th-century aesthetic, related neither to beauty nor pleasure but to terror and transcendence, and sets it in an American context. To make the point as briefly as possible I shall quote from Edmund Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* a few characteristic terms: "Vacuity, Darkness, Solitude, and Silence," "Infinity," and "Greatness of Dimension." Burke's praise of uniformity as an aesthetic virtue is relevant to Newman's grand planes of even color. "If the figures of the parts should be changed, the imagination at every change finds a check; you are presented at every alteration with the termination of one idea, and the beginning of another; by which means it becomes impossible to continue that uninterrupted progression which alone can stamp on bounded objects the character of infinity." Hence the uninterrupted progression of color in a painting by Newman is, possibly, a metaphor of infinity as well as an exactly given area.

The advantage of the Sublime as a category in this context is that it fits some of the formal characteristics of Newman's art well and we know that it was on his mind at the exact moment that he went over to painting holistically. In addition, it provides a non-esoteric range of references. The history of the Sublime is tortuous and its meaning occasionally disputed still, but for all that it is not a mystery. Newman's art is an art of powerful impact ("at one instant one gets the whole painting," he said), of strong dominion of the spectator. Kabbalistic secrets do not seem to be really to the point in describing declarative art. But the fact remains that the work induces a sense of powerful meanings. It derives, I think, from Newman's exceptional capacity, almost uncultivated by Abstract artists, to draw on culture as a field of general knowledge. The absence of detail and of multiple colors, for instance, connotes renunciation, and the expansion of a single color mass connotes exaltation. These are learned but habitual sources of metaphor: they require only the general knowledge of our culture in the spectator. The sublime is one available source of metaphor that applies to both the form and content of these large and simple paintings. Newman, for all his austerity, never relinquished his hold on what might be called innate iconography. □

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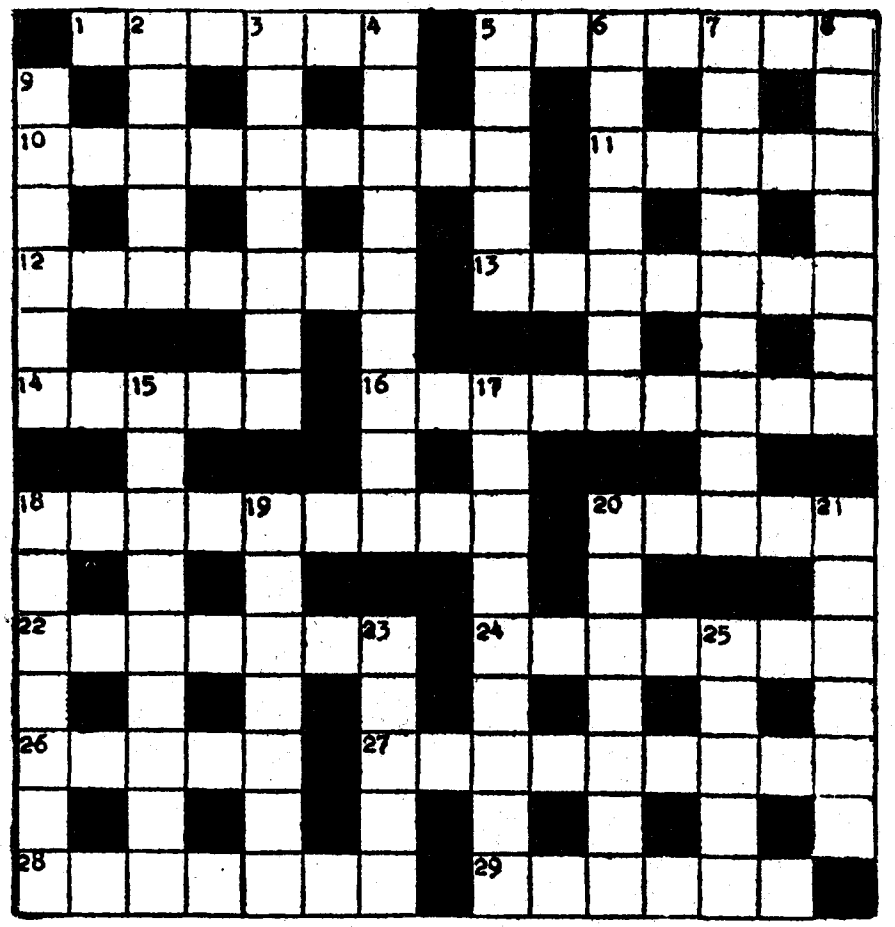

ACROSS

1, 5 across, 10, 12, 13 and 27 Sounds like a question concerning the source of sweet rolls suggests either an emotional or intellectual answer. (4,2,5,2,5,4,2,2, 3,5,2,2,3,4)
11 Possible word for one who might cry "uncle." (5)
14 Certain American tales were so told (5)
16 Romantic old chests were sometimes so thought of. (9)
18 It could be descriptive of a beam in the door. (9)
20 In addition, a comment about everything becomes insipid. (5)
22 Making a complaint this way is not just horsing around! (7)
24 Obviously such ruthless types needed different postage. (7)
26 Strangely enough, they might be accompanied by fever. (5)
27 See 1 across.
28 Usually run by junior members of the organization. (7)
29 Associated with an edict as part of the regnant establishment. (6)

DOWN

2 A rotten nuisance, and such a bore at heart! (5)
3 Lafayette had note taken (but not at first) for what might be prepared by the expectant type. (7)
4 Seriously, it will be found in good time around a comfortable home. (9)
5 You might measure it across. (5)
6 Baseball teams might typify them. (7)
7 Is it an out-of-date college, where the worthy few don't get written to? (9)
8 Asparagus might be, but shouldn't be on the plate. (7)
9 Is a small creature in the land stage about in favor of the attempt? (6)
15 Neither uniform, nor in one. (9)
17 Impart knowledge in the glen, perhaps. (9)
18 A vessel might have a little physical trouble with ornamentation. (7)
19 Pulls up short, but suggests that one left the windows open during the storm. (5,2)
20 Father gets a little strict with what's on foot. (7)
21 Sometimes crossed by the quarrelsome. (6)
23 What makes the car go round in what the winner does? (5)
25 Could the area be less crowded to have a tree inside? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1424

ACROSS: 1 Ironworks; 5 Blow-up; 10 Means; 11 Diligence; 12 Ragtime; 13 Artists; 14 Stages; 15 Saracen; 18 Unnamed; 21 Catnap; 24 Informs; 26 Essayed; 27 Earthworm; 28 Padre; 29 Scylla; 30 Protests. DOWN: 1 Inward; 2 Orangutan; 3 Wasting; 4 Redness; 6 Lighter; 8 and 17 Pressing business; 9 Cleats; 16 Charybdis; 19 Marshal; 20 Despot; 21 Creamer; 22 Toss-pot; 23 Idlers; 25 and 7 Forty winks.

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PROCLAMATION

State of New York

Executive Chamber

The first ten Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, known as the Bill of Rights, were adopted on December 15, 1791.

Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, and other rights essential to our way of life were proclaimed in these ten Amendments, and have been indispensable to America's progress and democratic way of life ever since.

These freedoms and the Bill of Rights will endure only if a vigilant citizenry is implacably dedicated to their defense and preservation.

It is therefore most appropriate, on this 180th anniversary of the adoption of the Bill of Rights, for all New Yorkers and all Americans to renew their determination to preserve the guarantees afforded by these amendments for all individuals and groups.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of the State of New York, do hereby proclaim the period of December 9-15, 1971, as

BILL OF RIGHTS WEEK

in New York State.

GIVEN under my hand and the Privy Seal of the State at the Capitol in the City of Albany this twenty-fourth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and seventy-one.

BY THE GOVERNOR

Secretary to the Governor

Governor Rockefeller's proclamation was presented at the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee's dinner on the occasion of the 180th anniversary of the Bill of Rights but went unreported by the press.

If evidence be needed of the timeliness and relevance of this proclamation, it can be found in THE NATION's special issue by Frank J. Donner and Eugene Cerruti: "The Grand Jury Network: How the Nixon Administration Has Secretly Perverted a Traditional Safeguard of Individual Rights."

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